

QUESTIONS OF PLANNING, LAND AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT: THE CASE  
OF KWATHANDEKA

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#### ABSTRACT

This discourse examines the role of the planner, especially in the context of struggles for land and struggles against local government in South Africa. A case study of KwaThandeka forms the central component of the analysis of these issues. Research methods employed include participant observation, a social survey, a literature review and an overview of private and public documents.

The struggle for land has come to be part of the broader struggle for what has been termed a national democracy. The struggle for land is an issue which is integral to the planning process.

The majority of South Africans see local government as illegitimate, often corrupt, and not representing their needs and aspirations. It has often carried out the policies of apartheid and is seen to be part of the system of oppression. It is therefore difficult for the existing forms of local government to implement planning which is accepted by the community.

The role of the planner was perceived, primarily, to be to encourage the 'empowerment' of the community in con-



stant consultation with the community and with the broader movement for progressive social change in South Africa.

The case study shows that there are issues in KwaThandeka which need the attention of planners, if the quality of life for the inhabitants is to be improved. The findings of the case study concur with the assertions about the struggle for land and struggle against local government in South Africa and the role of the planner in these contexts.

DECLARATION

I declare that this discourse is my own unaided work. It is being submitted in partial fulfillment of the Degree of Master of Science in Development Planning in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

Pamela Line

21st day of October, 1988.

## PREFACE

The purpose of this paper is two-fold. Firstly, it has broadened an understanding of the nature and scope of the problems facing South Africa, and secondly, it has exposed the realities of planning in a more practical light.

The role of the planner is examined particularly in the context of struggles for land and struggles against local government which are crucial issues for the majority of South Africa's inhabitants and are important problems facing the community of KwaThandeka.

The aim of this study has been to bring to light the issues of planning, land shortages and local government facing the community of KwaThandeka and examine them in a broader South African context.

Involvement in the project with the community of KwaThandeka has been invaluable in enabling the planner to learn the more practical aspects of planning.

The focus of research has been confined to South Africa in most cases due to the uniqueness of embarking on a study within the context of racial and economic conflict



within this country. Reference has been made to the international literature on planning in order to place the research in a wider 'Third World' context.

In the text the use of the terms black, white, African, Indian and coloured reflect conventional South African terminology for describing the different people inhabiting South Africa. The term black has been used to collectively refer to African, Indian and coloured South Africans. They do not in any way reflect an acceptance of such racist terms.

Where inverted commas have been used around words, this has been done because they have acquired their own meaning in the South African context. 'Homeland' has been used because it is more often referred to and understood today than the word 'bantustan'. This does not imply that it is accepted that these areas are either 'homes' or 'national states'.

The support of many people has enabled this paper to be completed. Thanks is firstly due to my supervisor, Richard Tomlinson who provided much guidance on the scope nature and direction of this study.

Thanks are also due to Alan Mabin and Alison Todes for

their advice on suitable reading material on specific issues.

The community of KwaThandeka has been more than helpful at all times and our relationship will not stop now that this paper has been completed. Without their co-operation and support, this discourse would not have been completed.

Roddy and Lili have given invaluable advice on the initial drafts and my family have continued to encourage the completion of this paper.

Finally without the encouragement, support and constructive criticism that Cliff has given the task would have been much more difficult.

#### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

|        |   |
|--------|---|
| ANC    | African National Congress   |
| AHC    | Amsterdam Home Committee  |
| BAA's  | Bantu Affairs Administration Boards                                   |
| COMCOM | Communications Committee  |
| COSATU | Congress of South African Trade Unions                                |
| DET    | Department of Education and Training                                  |
| DOD    | Department of Defense   |
| JIC    | Joint Information Centre  |
| JOC    | Joint Operational Centre  |
| JMC    | Joint Management Centre   |
| LAC    | Local Authority Committee   |
| LRC    | Legal Resources Centre  |
| NIS    | National Intelligence Service   |
| NSMS   | National Security Management System                                   |
| SADF   | South African Defence Force   |
| SAP    | South African Police  |
| TRAC   | Transvaal Rural Action Committee                                      |
| RDCSPA | Regional Director of Community Services,<br>Provincial Administration |
| UDF    | United Democratic Front   |
| UBC    | Urban Bantu Council   |

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## CHAPTER ONE

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The primary aim of this discourse is to bring to light the central issues surrounding the role of the planner particularly in the context of struggles for land and struggles against local government in South Africa. To do this it is important to examine a case study. The township of KwaThardeka in the eastern Transvaal has been chosen for this purpose.

#### Structure of the paper

The structure of the discourse is one where each chapter focuses on a specific aspect of the research agenda. However, all the issues under examination are linked to one another as they all to a greater or lesser extent, affect the role of the planner.

The second chapter focuses on the role of the planner. It examines approaches to planning, issues facing the planner and then addresses the issue of the role of the planner in South Africa.



The third chapter examines struggles for land in South Africa. This chapter focuses on dispossession, how this has occurred and how it is maintained. The chapter is concluded with an examination of various South African communities' responses to removals and resettlement.

The fourth chapter examines struggles against local government in South Africa. It begins with an overview of the nature, structure and power of local government in South Africa. It then examines the issues which manifest themselves in struggles against local government and proposes some alternatives to the present situation.

The fifth chapter draws the themes of the preceding three chapters together, testing theoretical and empirical conclusions with a case study of KwaThandeka. Contained within this section is an explanation and discussion of the research methodology utilised and an examination and analysis of the research results.

The concluding section of the discourse includes assertions on the role of the planner in the context of struggles for land and struggles against local government in South Africa.

#### Nature of the paper

The paper has been structured so that each of the main issues which face the community of KwaThandeka are highlighted within separate but interlinking chapters of the text. Each chapter is therefore presented as an issue on its own but interlinked with the other issues facing the community of KwaThandeka.

The case study was chosen because it was an opportunity to put the skills that have been learned into practice, it will be useful for the community in KwaThandeka and it has been an opportunity to gain practical experience.

The principles of the Freedom Charter are important to bear in mind. It must be noted that while it is vital to test and utilise the principles of a non-racial and democratic South Africa enshrined in the Freedom Charter, this historic but relevant document must be considered a foundation for future political, economic and social organisation in South Africa. The implementation of the principles of this document will take a long time to materialise and will require the involvement of social scientists, planners and other professionals if it is to become reality.

The vision provided by the Freedom Charter does however give a sense of long term goals to work towards and a 'baseline' of principles.

There are a number of binding objectives to this work. These include the dismantling of apartheid and the building of a non-racial and democratic society which is free of the present system of class, gender and racial conflict and exploitation.

During the course of research a number of practical problems were encountered. An important obstacle was the knowledge that the state was constantly monitoring the nature and progress of the work in KwaThandeka. Although the planner was not personally affected by any threats, the interviewers for the survey and the chairperson of the Amsterdam Home Committee were harassed by the Security Branch of the South African Police. These experiences must be taken into account when embarking on the form of research outlined within the current political climate of unprecedented repression.

The Joint Management Council of the National Security Management System in the area under examination is presumed to be very active and for this reason the names of the community members involved have not been included.

### Research Bias

Research "bias is unavoidable at the best of times" (Atkinson, 1988, 202). In the South African situation, where deep political cleavages exist, the terms in which the planner discusses the issues at hand, are evidence of political commitments.

Research in South Africa is not as simple as it appears. The community's perception of the researcher is that often s/he is associated with the government and therefore community members are often suspicious and weary of expressing their actual opinions.

An American anthropologist, Beals (1969, 139) has pointed out,

many anthropologists have been interviewed by CIA agents ... questions have involved violations of privacy and the protection of informants. Usually the main focus has been upon evidence or suspicion of communist activity ... Rarely if ever has there been any concern with ... the nature of protest movements springing from legitimate complaints or aspirations of the populations concerned.

His comments should be borne in mind when conducting research in a society which is experiencing political conflict including armed insurrection and violent state repression.



## CHAPTER TWO

### 2. THE ROLE OF THE PLANNER

#### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

Before discussing both the struggle for land and the struggle against local government in South Africa it is important to review the role of the planner as postulated in the literature. This chapter begins with a focus on the theory of planning. It continues with a discussion reviewing and assessing the different approaches to planning, the possible types of planning, and planning procedures. Through this discussion a number of issues and concepts are raised. The discussion then turns to an examination of issues such as planning and politics, power, values, justice, ethics, professionalism, who the client is, and the dilemma facing most planners.

The next section examines planning history in South Africa, its depoliticisation and how it is used to uphold the apartheid system. It is within this context that the issue of planning and planners is located.

The aims of a planner as an agent working for progressive<sup>1</sup>

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1. The term 'progressive' in the South African context is used to

change are outlined in order to understand the potential that exists in this field.

Finally, the definition of specific roles are discussed, examining the position of the planner working in the bureaucracy (what Kraushaar (1988) calls "working within the whale") and working outside bureaucratic institutions ("outside the whale"). In conclusion the work will draw out some points on planning in the South African context<sup>2</sup> and suggest a potential role of the planner in South Africa.

## 2.2 THEORY OF PLANNING

An understanding of theory of planning is necessary to provide a base from which to examine the role of the planner. Some theoretical understandings of planning and planners are outlined below.

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denote the democratic content of social change, political organisation, documents and utterances. This democratic content is determined by the national struggle for a non-racial, unitary state with universal political franchise.

2. For the purpose of this chapter discussion is limited to the role of the planner in South Africa, which has its own idiosyncrasies because of the nature of the state, the system it has implemented in this country, and the way the current social order has used planning to justify and implement many of its apartheid policies.

McConnell (1981) states that because planning practice depends on the sanction of those in political power, planning theory must be related to political theory if it is to relate to practice. Planning and politics are both concerned with decision-making which affects the well-being of others and it is therefore an activity with ethical connotations. Therefore planning theory should be moderated by ethical reasoning.

McConnell (1981) further argues that in the 1950's and 1960's most local authority architecture used the concept of redevelopment of local residential areas with tower-blocks as advocated by Le Corbusier in the 1920's. The negative results of these programmes were not anticipated, not least by the people most affected, those who had to live in such residential complexes. During this era experts in the planning field assumed that they knew what was best for people, especially those sections of society who were without the economic means to buy their own houses. What is clear from this is that situations arise where the consequences of planning do not address the needs of the community (McConnell, 1981).

A number of theorists including Beauregard (1978), McCarthy and Smit (1984) and Castells (1977) have seen planning as perpetuating the existing class structure.

This attitude is summed up by Beauregard (1978),

the application of technical expertise and attendant efficiency criterion without proper consideration of its ideological implications, ... [is because of] ... the embeddedness of planners in the advanced capitalist state [and as such] ... their activities are dictated by [the] concern for accumulation and legitimation.

But, the search for a planning theory is much like the pursuit of the Holy Grail (Blowers, 1982). When planners are "acting in concert" with politicians they are acting as their political selves, applying their values and influence on the subject in question. Blowers (1982) concludes that in fact a theory of power is required rather than a theory of planning. He does not consider the possibility that planning represents one manifestation of power.

In the context of the politics-planning debate it is important to mention the work of Castells (1977) who suggests that the state cannot be the axis for social transformation because it is concerned with perpetuating the status quo. If this is the case then the work of the planner in upholding the status quo has significance. According to Castells (1977) planning is counter-revolutionary and planners have a limited role to play in the struggle to "transcend capitalist urbanism" (in McCarthy and Smit, 1984, 149). They are more likely to be

effective outside state structures "through the agency of 'urban social movements'" (McCarthy and Smit, 1984, 149)

McCarthy and Smit (1984) however point to the example of Zimbabwe where state institutions have been used to move the society in a direction which is more beneficial to the majority of citizens than it was in the pre-independence period. In a post-apartheid scenario it is envisaged that a similar role will be played by a state structure which has the majority of residents' interests as the primary focus. Castells' (1977) work is valuable in situations where state institutions are used to perpetuate the status quo and therefore his work cannot be underestimated but neither can it be taken at face value.

Thus whereas planners are presently deeply embroiled and implicated in the implementation of apartheid, a more positive role is likely in the future. This discourse proceeds with a review of the options for socially committed planners which lie outside the reactionary mainstream.

### 2.3 APPROACHES TO PLANNING

Various approaches to planning have been suggested. the purpose here is to examine these roles and show that there



is considerable precedent for the type of role envisaged in South Africa.

The radical approach to planning as proposed by McCarthy and Smit (1984, 139) attempts

to understand the way in which urban planning has emerged and evolved through time in response to certain structural imperatives; imperatives which derive from the socio-economic context within which planning takes place.

Radical theorists see planning as an "instrument of capital or a regulator and maintainer of system cohesion" (McCarthy and Smit, 1984, 152). The radical approach does not prescribe any action which the planner can take to intervene in the process which is perceived as being in the interests of the owners of the means of production.

User orientated planning conceptualises society as consisting of various interest groups which are the basis for conflict in a society. The community determines the goal in this case and the planner is seen to act on behalf of the citizens of a country. This model has been identified with democratic political theory (Fainstein and Fainstein, 1971).

Incremental planning on the other hand rejects a comprehensive approach to planning and does not have finite or long term goals. It is concomitant with liberal

democratic theory (Fainstein and Fainstein, 1971). Societal equilibrium is achieved through market forces balanced by supply and demand.

**Advocacy** planning involves a process whereby the planner is subservient to the demands or the goals of the client group. This approach "assumes an equality among citizens" and is based on the notion that "that policy which is in the interests of a single social group" is central (Fainstein and Fainstein, 1971, 347). Planners working in this framework see the planning process as politically charged and highly disputatious.

The **advocacy** approach sees political inactivity as a result of the sense of powerlessness on the part of the disadvantaged (McCarthy and Smit, 1984). **Advocacy** planners accept that society is made up of different interest groups whose interests are not always compatible.

Therefore although the **advocacy** planner would accept the pluralist viewpoint they are more sceptical of the status quo. The role of the **advocate** planner would hence be to articulate and protect the interests of the poor (McCarthy and Smit, 1984).

**Promotive** planning suggests the promotion of democratic

ideals, accepting that planning as a discipline does not have the power itself to create human liberty and dignity. It has however the "inherent capability to promote the attainment of these attributes of democracy by means of goal orientated guidance" (Muller, 1982, 255).

Muller (1982) continues that there are certain implications to this approach. It obligates the planner to assume a position which involves the advancement of deprived groups and gives no assurance that professional "self-interest" will be protected. This implies the acceptance of solutions generated from the affected community. It requires the planner to withdraw when the dictates of independent community growth and advancement require it. The planner is therefore seen by Muller (1982) to be a catalyst for the development of human potential. The planner is not perceived of as a representative or as an advocate acting on behalf of a community. S/he can only offer further guidance and technical aid in the implementation of decisions taken by a community.

#### 2.4 PLANNING PROCEDURES

Historically South African planners have used the **masterplan** approach. This has been done within the

context of the Group Areas Act and a number of other legal and ideological constraints.

There has also been an "enthusiastic endorsement of the public choice theory" (McCarthy and Smit, 1984, 118). The resultant interpretation has been that urban systems cannot function smoothly if the societal and cultural values are heterogeneous. To solve the difficulties between individuals "holding different social and cultural values" social contact should be minimised (McCarthy and Smit, 1984, 126). Planning in South Africa is perceived as separate from "popular participation, pressure and conflict of urban politics" (McCarthy and Smit, 1984, 126).

This 'top down' approach prevailed until the mid 1970's. Since this period more reference has been made to public participation in decision-making and a decision to 'give' communities the 'power' and 'autonomy' to make their own decisions such as the decentralisation of decision making to local representative structures. Examples of this include the implementation of the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982 and the Regional Services Council Act of 1985. This does not mean that the traditional establishment planners in South Africa have shifted their approach dramatically. Their approach is still technicist with

elements of 'liberalism and democracy' (Klein, 1985).

Butcher (1979) suggests that a planner should rather act as an advocate, advancing the demands of a community at each stage. The community group should determine the pace and the process. The implementation should be undertaken by the residents and problems which arise should be debated and cleared up in the community.

#### Role of the Planner

Within capitalist society, Fainstein and Fainstein (1971) suggest that planning facilitates capitalist accumulation, helps manage the contradictions in capitalism and depoliticises the planning process. The planner is an agent or possibly a catalyst of transformation, but is not necessarily an actor in the transformation. The community organisation is the actor with its component parts.

McCarthy and Smit (1984) have outlined a number of roles for the planner. These are a) as "technical advisors to bodies which make resource allocation decisions in South African cities" (1984, 159), b) to influence the state's responses to the activities of community organisations to encourage their growth. At a local level they could argue for sympathetic hearings of demands made on the grounds of



the legitimate nature of the representatives of the people. c) Planners within the bureaucracy can help counter the depoliticisation of planning and foster the growth of community organisations and d) to demystify the "technicist urban planning harmful to the working class" (McCarthy and Smit, 1984, 164).

McCarthy and Smit (1984) do not raise the possibility of working as part of a community organisation. This is one area which is discussed below in the context of "work outside the whale".

McConnell (1981) raises the question of whether the planner should be a politically neutral advisor to elected representatives or openly seek to influence decision-making from her/his own political viewpoint. To implement political action McConnell (1981) poses the question as to whether the planner should not wait until after working hours and then should s/he not be active in a different form of local government from that at the work place. McConnell (1981) concludes that this is an ethical issue because in one's work one should be true to one's ethical convictions.

## 2.5 ISSUES FACED BY THE PLANNER

### Planning and Politics

Fainstein and Fainstein (1971) define planning as "who gets what" and therefore locate planning within a political context. Klein (1985) suggests an appropriate addition is who gets what when, where they get the benefit and how the benefit is allocated. He concludes that this is what characterises planning as political.

Planning has often been seen to be a "neutral, harmonious and conflict-free process" (McCarthy and Smit, 1984, 126). However, planning cannot be perceived as a disinterested, technically and politically neutral and consensual activity, protecting the public interest (Blowers, 1982).

For Blowers (1982) there are two components in a theory of planning. Firstly there is the aspect of planning as a political activity, in that power relationships determine policies and outcomes. The second condition is the "empirical evidence from which the evaluation of these propositions (listed below) can be made" (Blowers, 1982, 144).

His four propositions are; a) planning as a professional

activity is weak, has a bureaucratic function "rather than a technical procedure conforming to principles of rationality" (Blowers, 1982, 144), b) planning is a political activity in the sense that actions are politically determined, c) planning is most influential on 'safe' issues and therefore it is uncontentious unimportant and invisible, and d) important issues may be invisible/hidden and if aroused may create conflicts between powerful groups.

McConnell (1981) states that planning is a political activity and raises the question of who makes the decisions on the policies and projects. He states that those in power, or those who have connections with or influence over those in power, make the decisions. The question of who decides depends on political attitudes and democratic models; it depends on who has the authority to decide on planning issues and it may be linked to the idea of "general will". As the planning system is part of the government system associated with those in power, it is on the ruling side of the conflict between groups in society. Politicians oversee what planners do morally and otherwise.

In South Africa information is controlled politically through laws such as the Emergency Regulations and the

restriction on quoting 'listed' people. Decision-making and planning ideology fit tightly into this control framework. Every planning decision made by a group elected or appointed by people, is a reflection of a political stance. As different political parties gain control so the substance of planning changes. Those with power can use it to obtain what is best for them and those that support them (McConnell, 1981).

#### Power

The central concern relating to the question of power is the issue of implementation. This is in turn related to the political nature of planning which has been discussed above. If the application of planning in practice recognises the dominance of political theory and political power it will be sanctioned by politicians in power (McConnell, 1981).

An effective, responsive, just planning system will only exist provided those in political power want one (McConnell, 1981). Planning is necessarily and inevitably involved in a social context in which power relationships exist and must be dealt with (Blowers, 1982). Planning is about power and urban planning is one way in which power is used. The means and ends of planning are influenced by

the preferences of those with political power (McConnell, 1981).

The views expressed by these theorists point back to the issue of implementation. Only those with political power can in reality implement a development plan. Therefore unless the development plan fits into the political and ideological framework of the ruling grouping, the possibility of implementation is undermined.

#### Value, Justice, Professionalism and Ethics

Wood (1982) states that it has historically been assumed that judgments and decisions of a professional nature are not influenced by personal bias. This point is debatable as all professionals are individuals whose perceptions and decisions are moulded by their surroundings, education, class position and political opinions.

Wood (1982) adds that there is an overlap between the issues of value and justice. The important difference between these two concepts is that value is associated with private property and environmental interests while justice is associated with individual rights and equality.

McConnell (1981) states that planning should be responsive



and just. He continues that the test of moral justice concerns respective advantages and disadvantages gained and lost by people as a result of decisions made in the practice of urban planning.

The criteria for moral justice is the community's needs (Wood, 1981). Planners have also set themselves up as problem solvers trapping themselves in this role. (Wood, 1982).

Planning is a political activity and it is believed to be a moral activity where political preferences may in the end be moderated by ethics. Ethics are described as the rules of behavior. If the planner is to be just, a principal aim should then be the "amelioration of inequalities as expressed in spatial and opportunity terms between persons, groups and communities" (Wood, 1981, 155).

#### Who is the client?

This is a question which is faced by all planners. It is one which often depends on where the planner is working. It can also highlight the question of where the planner stands in relation to the society s/he is working in and what the aims of her/his work are.

If the planner is working for a state institution it can be concluded that s/he is working for those who hold the power to implement the decisions or those who have political power. As was stated above, the power structures have a direct influence on the planner.

The case may also arise, such as in the case study, where the client is not necessarily the one who is financing the planner. In this instance one should question the nature of the finance received and what it is aimed at achieving. For example financial assistance, which is loosely termed 'social conscience money', may often be provided by overseas companies to counter the implementation of sanctions against South Africa.

The client cannot therefore be determined as the financier, but should rather be defined as the group, individual or structure for whom work is being done and in whose interests the planner is planning.

#### The Dilemma of the Planner

In the South African context the dilemma of the planner is heightened "as a direct result of the complexity of the struggle for spatial and economic equality and efficiency,

and for democratic decision-making" (Klein, 1985, 4).

The planner is faced with the problem of how to plan within the context of the historically determined apartheid system while at the same time assisting with the progressive transformation of society. The laws of apartheid such as the 1952 Group Areas Act and 'Orderly Urbanisation' legislation strictly govern where and for whom planning in a particular area can be implemented. Even if the planner does not agree with these laws s/he is legally required to abide by them. On the other hand, this discourse addresses how it is possible to assist communities faced with problems caused by such legislation to contest the problems they face.

At this point it is appropriate to look at the role of the planner in the South African context bearing in mind the above discussion and the overview of various approaches and procedures in planning.

## 2.6 PLANNING IN SOUTH AFRICA

### History of planning in South Africa

As has been shown in section 2.4 planners in South Africa have tended to plan along the lines of the masterplan

approach within apartheid laws.

Planning has also been used to soften the manifestations of some of the contradictions of the South African system. This is clearly evident in the use of upgrading schemes. Examples of these are presently being implemented in places like Alexandra and Mamelodi in the Transvaal (see Jochelson (1983) and Boraine (1988)).

The current upgrading programmes experienced in townships around South Africa are an attempt to undercut some of the grievances of the majority of South Africans which led to mass resistance in these townships from 1984 to 1986.

The attempt to depoliticise planning is clearly illustrated by moves to involve the private sector such as in the provision of housing. Planning in South Africa is perceived of as separate from "popular participation, pressure and the conflict of urban politics" (McCarthy and Smit, 1984, 126). The state has attempted to use planning to depoliticise society. They have done this by veiling the planning process in technical terms. The result of which has been that fundamental planning concerns such as the reason for the impoverishment of the 'homelands' have not been addressed. Instead surface issues such as the quality of roads have been dealt with.

King (1980) has raised some other salient points applicable to the history of planning in South Africa. He argues that planning exported to colonial territories fulfilled political, administrative and commercial functions. The concept of the segregated city encouraged by the "sanitation syndrome" was central to the social functioning of colonial planning. In South Africa the "segregated city has been fundamental in the development of 'categorical' relationships, the stereotyping of one race and its behavior by another" (King, 1980, 212).

#### The Aim of Planning in South Africa

"[P]eculiar socio-political circumstances in South Africa attendant upon apartheid ideology and the implications attaching to the conflagration of ... Black community areas in the country ... place an obligation on the planning discipline" (Muller, 1982, 247).

This obligation relates to a) implicit professional interest in matters such as simple justice and human dignity and b) the explicit professional responsibility to "develop theoretical constructs leading to socially sensitive planning action" (Muller, 1982, 247).

The planner working in the South African situation has a responsibility in terms of the above statement to work as



an agent for progressive social change. The author contends that the Freedom Charter, and political and community organisations associated with the Freedom Charter, are guides to determining the tasks and styles of planners working for progressive social change. The Freedom Charter is not seen as a panacea for all the planning problems in South Africa, but as a guide to action for planners. The Freedom Charter provides an historically determined set of 'baseline' principles including the provision of housing, security and comfort, the demolition of slums and the building of new suburbs "where all shall have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres" (see Appendix A.1).

The planner in the present system should encourage the 'empowerment' and self sufficiency of a community or residents organisations by encouraging community ownership and control of services and community maintenance of these services. This is possible by the provision of appropriate services such as pit latrines which can be maintained and built by the community itself.

The planner should also be vigilant about her/his role in the planning process ensuring s/he does not dominate the community or make her/himself indispensable. It is easy for a disadvantaged community to become dependent on the

planner and not benefit from the process. To avoid this, proper consultation with the community and withdrawal at the earliest possible stage is required.

Although consultation places no obligation on the powerful (the oppressors) to take heed of the aspirations of the powerless (the oppressed), true consultation (which the planner should aim for) does because it involves the participation of the powerless in every possible step of a process.

There should be "planning participation in the public process" namely the planner gains knowledge of the community and is therefore more able to interpret peoples interests and advise them (Muller, 1982, 253).

## 2.7 THE ROLE OF THE PLANNER IN SOUTH AFRICA

Two basic areas of work for the planner can be identified within which the s/he can further find her/his area of work. These are a) 'working inside the whale' and b) 'working outside the whale'. These two scenarios for planners in South Africa are explored below.

The previous discussions on the role of the planner in general must be born in mind when examining planning in

South Africa. Many of the approaches to planning and planning procedures outlined in section 2.3 and 2.4 respectively, are not consistent with the reality of living and working South Africa.

It is questionable whether McConnell's (1981) approach to planning would be feasible in South Africa. It is debatable whether it would be possible for example to have a job trying to influence a structure which is moving people from a specific group area, not to move people and in simultaneous extra mural activity, being involved in a community organisation which is fundamentally opposed to these evictions.

Muller (1982) states that promotive planning aims to open the doors of the process of government to all parties. However, although the model of participative democracy is laudable, it is not practically feasible in a system which is not yet available to broad based participation. If the aim of the planner is to promote democratic ideals, the options for the South African planner must be considered in this light.

These questions are complex and each option open to the planner is therefore outlined below in the context of the the discussion on the aims of the planner in South Africa.

### 'Work inside the Whale'

This would entail, as briefly outlined above, working within a bureaucracy at a local, regional or national level. On this issue McCarthy and Smit (1984) state that the potential of working in this sphere "requires some theory of what constitutes a 'gain' or a 'loss'" for the majority of people (McCarthy and Smit, 1984, 159).

This poses the question of who determines when there are benefits, what they could be, and how they are felt. One solution is for the planner to be part of a community organisation which can assess the benefit or loss. If this scenario is accepted, the planner should be constantly consulting the organisation on her/his actions 'working inside the whale'. If the planner is to be successful working within the whale it might only be possible for a planner to have low profile consultation with an organisation if s/he is to continue to benefit the organisation by 'working inside the whale'.

### 'Working outside the Whale'

It is questionable whether one could work outside the

whale totally because, if one examines who has the power to implement the proposals of a planner working outside the bureaucracy, it could be perceived that s/he will have to enter into some form of negotiation.

a. As an Advocate planner

A planner can work on behalf of a community or groups within a community as advocates for what they "deem proper" (Davidoff, 1965, 297). Advocacy planners would perceive a skewed distribution of power even in a situation of universal franchise.

The role of the advocate planner would be "articulating and protecting the interests of the poor in the planning process" (McCarthy and Smit, 1984, 135). Advocacy planners would see themselves as redistributionists. As an advocate planner one should accept the solutions generated by the affected community and one is obliged to assume the position of promoting the advancement of deprived groups.

Enthusiasm for the scope of advocacy planning must be tempered by its disillusioning and frustrating attempts in the U.S.A. (McCarthy and Smit, 1984). However the South African context is considerably different from the



American situation because of the nature of South African society and a state which is representative of the minority, ruling the majority of citizens.

b. As a researcher

The planner as a researcher involves research in an academic context or in the context of research institutions independent from business interests.

An example of this sort of work could be research organisations which have been set up around the country to examine planning policy in a post-apartheid context, and within the present context, such as the Urban Problems Research Unit at the University of Cape Town and the Built Environment Support Group at the University of Natal, Durban. It is important for these organisations to be part of building and supporting community organisations.

Again it must be stressed that these organisations should be part of a consultative relationship which is responsive to the community. The work in this field is vast, and therefore the needs of community organisations must be addressed as a first priority in order to fulfill the aim of building and strengthening these organisations.

#### c. Private institutions

In South Africa a number of private institutions exist. These institutions are not state funded, but are concerned with examining planning related issues for business groupings and community organisations. It is important for planners coming from a perspective of fostering and supporting community organisations to be involved in these institutions because they can learn practical skills, influence decisions made within them as well as learn how the institution works.

They include groupings such as the Urban Foundation and South African Institute of Race Relations. It is therefore important for progressive planners to understand and attempt to influence the direction of these institutions, to encourage positive perceptions of community organisations and to build the legitimacy of these organisations.

#### d. As a service to community organisations

Generally in both capitalist and socialist societies the state has established a number of institutions to direct and control various services to the people. These include legal, education, health & safety, research, town

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planning, technical advice, general development, planning services and such like.

In the South African context the apartheid state implements and withholds community and personal services as part of its greater programme to maintain minority privilege and profits. The services of the state are hopelessly inadequate both in quantity and quality and a number of non-governmental service organisations, including organisations allied to progressive community organisations have emerged to fill this gap.

There are a number of ways in which the planner working in non-governmental service organisations can complement community organisations. S/he could provide information on technically feasible alternatives, do research into the possible effects of the states programmes, provide material support in the form of resources and train members of a community organisation in planning skills.

## 2.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined theory of planning, approaches to planning, planning procedures, issues facing planners, planning in South Africa and finally defined some areas in which planners can work. The role of the planner in

each area of work namely, 'within and outside the whale' must be assessed at appropriate intervals due to the rapidly changing nature of South Africa. The assessment should include an examination of the effectivity of the intervention. Ultimately the most important criteria is whether increased democratisation of the society is possible.

Work 'inside the whale' can be very frustrating yet constructive and provide benefits for community organisations. The planner cannot work in isolation and hope to achieve the results s/he expects if the community grouping is not integrated into the work being undertaken. This integration is determined by the planner's relationship to the community organisation. The planner can conduct her/his work as a member of a community organisation or as an independent planner in constant consultation with a community organisation.

In the South African situation there is much scope for advocacy planning if it is practiced in a way which is acceptable to the community where the planner is working.

This is also true if the planner acknowledges that s/he is not working as an individual; if the planner does not assume a vanguard role; if the planner withdraws from the



process at the earliest possible point and if the planner is part of a community grouping her/himself.

The scope for advocacy planning in South Africa is much greater than in a country such as the U.S.A. The planner working in South Africa has an important role to play as an advocate planner because of the lack of services provided to the majority of South Africans and because of the availability of 'social conscience money' to finance projects.

As a researcher, the planner has the potential to investigate future scenario's in the planning field. Researchers looking to a post-apartheid South Africa could provide valuable information for the future.

Planners working in private institutions have access to information which could be valuable to community organisations and influence the opinions of the private sector in favour of community organisations.

Working 'outside the whale' as a service to community organisations is important to fill the gap in the state's provision of services.

Finally it is important not to be domineering in work with

a community and be very sensitive to the nature and dynamics within a group.

The as yet unresolved struggle for land and struggle against local government are crucial determinants of the role of the planner in South Africa which have not formed part of the analysis up to this point. Land is an important part of the planning process without which planning cannot proceed smoothly. Chapter three examines the struggle for land in South Africa.

## CHAPTER THREE

### 3. STRUGGLES FOR LAND<sup>3</sup>

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

The struggle for land is one of the central questions facing planners in South Africa today as well as the people of KwaThandeka. This discussion is crucial in the light of the struggle for land having been a controversial and unresolved issue in the planning field.

The land question is one which is central to political control in all countries where dispossession has taken place. South Africa is no different. This chapter explains the political and social history of land dispossession in South Africa.

Discussion begins with an examination of why there is a struggle for land. The controls to maintain and perpetuate dispossession such as the 1913 Land Act, the 'homeland' system, forced removals and influx control are

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3. There is a generally accepted differentiation between the struggle for land as rural redistribution for agricultural production and the struggle for land as regards expanding and developing urban services such as housing. The struggle for land is considered to include both concepts in this chapter

then briefly examined. The effect of removals on people who have experienced dispossession is also outlined, one result being the struggle to regain the land lost. The retrieval and redistribution of land is a specific issue and part of the broader aim of building a new society in South Africa.

In the conclusion of this section the aims of the struggle for a new and democratic South Africa, ideologically, politically and economically are outlined, seeing land as a basic issue around which the other demands centre.

Land as a commodity is very special. It is fixed and inflexible, it cannot be created or destroyed (except in marginal ways), and in the context of a developing country, security of land ownership is important because it can invoke capital investment in for example housing (Doebele, 1983).

According to Gilbert and Ward land allocation "is an integral part of the political process" (Gilbert and Ward, 1985, 127). This means that the allocation of land is most often used as a political bargaining point.

In the South African context the political nature of this issue is heightened.

### 3.2 WHY A STRUGGLE FOR LAND

The political and historical roots of the struggle for land are firmly integrated in the social and economic history of South Africa.<sup>4</sup> (See Mzala (1988), Lodge (1983) Carter and Karis (1971), Isizwe (1985), Isizwe (1986a), Isizwe (1986b), Isizwe (1987a), Isizwe (1987b), Innes (1984) and Wolpe (1988)).

One of the primary ways in which apartheid is able to continue as an economic and political system is the division of South African society into separate 'interest' groups often in antagonism to each other; urban from rural, white/coloured/Indian from African, African people into ten different ethnic groups and enfranchised from disenfranchised. This 'divide and rule' strategy is not exclusive to South Africa. It was used by many colonising nations such as the British in places like Kenya, Malaysia and Rhodesia.

People have been moved, removed and dispossessed of their land. They have been harassed by pass laws and hounded by the Group Areas Act. A number of struggles have arisen

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4. The debate and discussion on this area is immense and to embark on this discussion here would not do it justice.



where people have fought to maintain the little they have such as at Sophiatown in the western areas of Johannesburg (1954), Mathopetad in the Western Transvaal (1984), Langa near Uitenhage (1984), Crossroads in Cape Town (1986) and Chicken Farm south of Johannesburg (1987).

These communities have been moved out of what apartheid supporters have called "white South Africa" or "white group areas", to the ten different 'homelands' or the 'correct' group area. It is this experience of dispossession which forms a central part of the struggle to regain land in the South African context.

#### Dispossession

The history of dispossession has been dealt with elsewhere more than adequately. (see Bundy, (1972)) Issues of labour tenancy and sharecropping have been examined by Delius and Trapido (1983), Keegan (1983), Nkadameng and Relly (1983) and Dikobe (1983). The impact of the 1913 Land Act has been well documented by Plaatjie (1982), Yawitch (1981) and O'Meara (1983). The 1913 Land Act was legislation which reflected the colonial dispossession of the African majority and laid the basis for the division of South Africa into what are now the 'homelands'.

According to the Surplus Peoples Project more people have been removed off farms than any other category of removal. They estimate that of the 3,25 million people removed between 1960 and 1983, 1,1 million were farm workers (see Platsky and Walker (1985) and TRAC (1988)).

### 3.3 HOW ACCESS TO LAND HAS BEEN CONTROLLED

A number of controls have been used by the state to limit black people's access to land in both rural and urban areas. These are predominantly housing controls, the 'homeland' system, and removals and resettlement. Each aspect is briefly examined to gain an understanding of how dispossession has taken place and how struggles for land have resulted.

#### Housing Controls

The poor, according to Angel (1983), gradually improve their housing, putting in a lot of ingenuity, resources and energy to do so. They would be further encouraged if the obstacles and constraints on tenure were removed and they were provided with essential public resources. Insecurity of tenure and fear of eviction is a major issue preventing housing improvement. However, it is not sufficient to assume that once security of tenure has been

established, home improvements will be made as a number of other constraints exist. These are primarily financial and cultural factors (Angel, 1983).

In South Africa security of tenure is an important issue because historically many peoples' experience has been insecurity of tenure. In areas under threat of removal this has been even more entrenched. In housing terms the government has tried to restrict the number of black families in urban areas through the 1923 Natives Urban Areas Act, the 1950 Group Areas Act, the 1952 Native Laws Amendment Act and control over the supply of housing.

Under the 1952 Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents Act, Section 10 requirements made it difficult to acquire housing and live with ones family near to one's place of work, if that happened to be in an urban area (Hindson, 1987).

The housing policy has resulted in massive shortages of housing and a shift of the unemployed to the 'homelands'. The development of squatter camps on the outskirts of urban areas and the borders of 'homelands' which are close to the urban areas (such as Winterveld near Pretoria) has been a result.

### 'Homelands'

The 'homeland' system, it can be argued, is the cornerstone of the policy of separate development. This system must be seen in conjunction with the other aspects of control in this section.

The various 'homelands' also function to divide people along linguistic and ethnic lines and enable the present government to extricate itself from the responsibilities of housing, educational and health provision for those in the 'homelands'. It thereby avoids the cost of reproduction of the work force.

### The Group Areas Act

The 1950 Group Areas Act continues to be another pillar of apartheid. It divides the urban areas into residential and business areas for different race groups.

Removals on the basis of the Group Areas Act have continued for many years. Sophiatown (1954) and District Six (1960's) were both destroyed and then reclassified for other 'race' groups. Evictions of people living in the 'wrong' group area have occurred and continue to occur in places such as Pageview, Hillbrow, Woodstock and Mayfair.

The Act itself has been responsible for the largest number of urban area removals. More than 860 400 people may have been moved from 1965 to 1985 under this act, most of them coloured and Indian. (Platsky and Walker, 1985)

#### Removals and Relocation

Forced removals continue despite Dr. Koornhof's promises in 1981 that there would be no more forced removals. This merely meant a change in the nature of forced removals from being blatantly forced to being "indirectly forced with 'motivational action' and 'generous compensation' enabling relocated people to 'feel at home' and enjoy 'normal and happy lives'" (Platsky and Walker, 1985, 8).

Platsky and Walker (1985) state that from 1960 to 1983 the estimated number of people removed is 3 584 900 people. This excludes most of people moved under the 1950 Group Areas Act or people moved within the 'homelands' for so-called betterment purposes.

#### 3.4 WHY DO REMOVALS TAKE PLACE

The Surplus Peoples Project, detailed a number of different reasons why people perceived they were removed.



These included the arrival of a new farmer who did not want the people who were on the land to be there, the clearance of 'black spots' and the reclassification of a group area (Platsky and Walker, 1985).

Platsky and Walker (1985) continue to state that most of those removed recognise that their removal is related to dispossession and power.

Removal is also explained as part of the greater extremely complex and all encompassing aims of the apartheid state. Another explanation has been that removal aims to rid 'white' South Africa of unproductive people and use the 'homelands' as dumping grounds (Platsky and Walker, 1985).

This hypothesis does not however, explain the reason for black spot removals or urban area removals. The 'black spot' question has sometimes been answered with the reason that by moving people off their land into the 'homelands', the government is making a pool of labour available to farmers (Platsky and Walker, 1985)

This is not however, a sufficient explanation either because it conflicts with the 'dumping ground' theory to some extent. What it does not explain is why reasonably settled labour forces are uprooted and moved from one area

to another.

Another interpretation is that the South African state wants to prevent people from demanding political rights in South Africa. Therefore by relocating people to the 'homelands' and stating that they must exercise their political rights there and not in 'white' South Africa, the state hopes to sidestep the question of self-determination (Platsky and Walker, 1985).

All the above explanations contribute to an understanding of dispossession, but none of them explain the entirety of removal over the last thirty odd years. The removal of people cannot be explained by one theory as the relocation of people has been used at different times for different reasons. Forced removals are integrally part of every aspect of life in South Africa under apartheid.

It must be noted that these removals have also not been random or irrational. They have been part of a systematic plan by the state to control the black population under apartheid. Without this policy there would be no separate group areas, no ethnically separated 'homelands' and no black townships (Platsky and Walker, 1985).

Removals are not a feature which only take place in South

Africa. They have taken place in many other countries both socialist and capitalist including for example, Tanzania under ujamaa policy (Von Freyhold, 1979). These removals have been undertaken to make way for dams, roads and other infrastructure. In South Africa removals have taken place in the context and manner of shaping apartheid. The majority of people who have been removed have no access to voting for or influencing those who impose the policy of forced removal.

### 3.5 WHAT IS THE EFFECT OF REMOVALS ON PEOPLE

People have been moved from cities, farms and from border areas, the latter being justified for strategic reasons. People have suffered the consequences of removals in numerous ways. Some of these are explained in order to gain an understanding of why the general reaction has been to respond in an organised manner and for some residents associations, to aim for the goals set out in the Freedom Charter.

Platsky and Walker (1985) site a number of effects on people who have experienced removals. Some of the cases they have outlined are sited below.

Where a town has been situated within a 75 km radius of a

'homeland', the township has been deproclaimed resulting in the removal of its residents to another site within the 'homeland'. For example some residents of Duncan Village were moved to Mdantsane and people from other places to locations such as Garankuwa and Kabokweni (Platsky and Walker, 1985).

In some cases this has happened to a whole village and in others the elderly, disabled, women and children have been moved leaving the men to live in single sex-hostels to commute weekly or monthly to see their families. Other people have had to become daily commuters if they live close enough to the city.

People who have experienced 'black spot' removals have had land which they have owned under freehold rights taken away from them. These people have been moved to the 'homeland' of their 'ethnic group', thereby losing their livelihood as farmers and their jobs in nearby towns.

People have been confused as to what is going to happen to them, suddenly being faced by removal to an area which is totally foreign to them. The communities have been moved under false pretenses<sup>5</sup> and forced to move at gunpoint.

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5. They have been promised serviced sites or new houses with water and sanitation facilities which have not materialised.

They have had their schools and houses demolished as happened in Magopa. The people have had their belongings destroyed, lost and stolen in attempts to forcibly remove them. They have been threatened by the army and the police. They have lost cattle, sheep and goats. Finally they have been dumped in barren, arid, hopeless places like Sada, llinge and Dimbaza in the Ciskei (Platsky and Walker, 1985).

The state has used every means at its disposal including the media, education, and the power of the armed forces to remove people.

Communities have been forced to accept a policy which directly affects their lives in every way. The people living in the community often do not have the support of lawyers or sympathetic political organisations and often they cannot read the orders they have been served with (Platsky and Walker, 1985).

The effects of removal have been severe for each community which has had to endure such actions of the government. The next section examines the responses of these people to their removal.



### 3.6 WHAT ARE COMMUNITIES' RESPONSES

People's responses to removal has been both organised resistance and acquiescence. The defiant have faced the security forces and state institutions using a variety of strategies in order to stay in the places they have been living.

Communities have united against their removal by forming community organisations such as in the case of Matiwane's Kop in Northern Natal (1982), Driefontein (1983) and Mathopestad in the Transvaal (1984) and Crossroads in the Western Cape (1982/83).

Some have attempted to oppose their removal through the courts with legal help. Others have found the support of community groups which have run public campaigns, bringing the attention of the public to what is happening.

Yet others have moved elsewhere to avoid the removal, as in the case of the removal of Modderdam (1977), Unibel (1977/78) and Werkgenot (1977/78) outside Cape Town. Some have chosen to fight their struggle without any outside help at all such as Matoks in the Sekgosese district in the Northern Transvaal.

The subdued and compliant have silently resigned themselves to their fate especially in areas where people were not organised. People living on individual farms often have little chance of resisting as a group.

This raises the question of why some communities resist and others do not. Platsky and Walker (1985) postulate that a number of interrelated factors determine whether or not a community will resist and how they will do so. They suggest that this depends on "people's previous experience of removals, resistance, organisation, how close they are to urban areas and support groups, and how much news coverage they have had" (Platsky and Walker, 1985, 282).

Platsky and Walker (1985) continue that organisation against removal has only begun recently. However, it is extremely difficult due to the lack of access to resources and frequent harassment, especially by the Security Branch of the South African Police. Communication networks are also slow with access even to telephones being limited and public transport being irregular.

In areas where public outcry to detentions is almost non-existent and recruitment by the police of informers is easy (due to, for example, high levels of unemployment), the building of organisation is a slow and difficult

process.

People have been learning the lessons of dispossession since this phenomenon began as it is much older than formal removals. Resistance is based on a vision of a future where they can once again farm their own land. Peoples' responses to dispossession vary from community to community. These responses are important for a better understanding of the rural black community.

### 3.7 WHAT ARE PEOPLE AIMING FOR IN THE STRUGGLE FOR LAND AND OTHER ISSUES

The aims of the struggle for land and other issues such as education, health and infrastructure are ideological, political and economic. A democratic South Africa is one of the goals of this struggle which "can be summed up in the principle slogan of the Freedom Charter: 'The People Shall Govern'" (Morobe, 1987, 1).

This statement shows that although millions of South Africans have been denied political representation, and have been both nationally oppressed and economically exploited, their aim is to control every aspect of their lives, not only the right to vote every five years.

Three hundred years of rule by a minority has resulted in inequalities at all levels of our society including political power, access to land and natural resources, income distribution, ownership and control of production, education, housing, transport, health, sport and culture.

The struggle for land is part of a struggle for a national democracy which includes striving for the right to national self determination.<sup>6</sup>

The Freedom Charter deals with the question of universal franchise; racial equality; the redistribution of the land among those who work it; equality before the law; human rights; equality in education and culture; housing; social security and race relations (see Appendix A.1).

A structure was established under the guidelines of the Freedom Charter in the Pondoland community in 1960. A Mountain Committee or 'Intaba' led a rebellion which rejected the Bantu Authorities and governed for a period of 9 months. (Boraine, 1987)

The recent constitutional guidelines proposed by the ANC

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6. The form and content of the struggle for national democracy and the centrality of the Freedom Charter has been dealt with extensively elsewhere. (See Cronin and Suttner (1986), Luthuli (1963), Hudson (1986) and Cronin (1986))



include the following:

- "South Africa shall be an independent, unitary, democratic and non-racial state.
- In the exercise of their sovereignty, the people shall have the right to vote under a system of universal suffrage based on the principle of one person/one vote.
- The state and all social institutions shall be under a constitutional duty to take active steps to eradicate, speedily the economic and social inequalities produced by racial discrimination.
- The advocacy or practice of racism, fascism, nazism or regional exclusiveness or hatred shall be outlawed.
- The state shall ensure that the entire economy serves the interests and well-being of the entire population.
- The state shall devise and implement a land reform programme that will include and address the following issues:

i) Abolition of all racial restrictions on ownership and use of land

ii) Implementation of land reform in conformity with the principle of affirmative action, taking into account the status of victims of forced removals

iii) A charter protecting workers rights, especially the right to strike and collective bargaining, shall be incorporated into the constitution" (see Appendix A.2).



These outlines give a concrete vision of what many people in South Africa are striving for and what their aims are. The struggle for land is part of a broader fight to build a new nation free of discrimination based on race, sex, colour or creed, in a nationally united country.

### 3.8 CONCLUSION

The above section has shown that the issue of land is a crucial and important question. Millions of South Africans have been affected by dispossession in some form or another. The land question is therefore central to the struggle for a national democracy and closely linked to the issue of political franchise.

Access to land is a political and institutional issue and not primarily a technical one as it is often made out to be. The solution to the land problem lies with those in power, to a large extent, in that only when those in power perceive an advantage to solving the problem, will they create solutions.

This chapter has examined why and how the struggle for land has resulted, what the effect of dispossession has been and what the ideological, political and economic

objectives of the struggle for land are.

The relationship between disenfranchised South Africans and local forms of government of the apartheid state is characterised by particularly intense conflict around the major contradictions of South African society. Access to land is just one of the points of conflict between particularly the African majority and local government. These pervasive struggles against local government often form the context within which the planner in South Africa must work. Chapter four examines struggles against local government.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### 4. STRUGGLES AGAINST LOCAL GOVERNMENT

#### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

Struggles against local government and the search for alternatives are important areas to examine in the South African context not least because the state sees itself as attempting to address the grievances of the majority of South Africans through local government.

This chapter focuses specifically on local government for Africans in South Africa due to the nature of the case study under examination in chapter five. There is a wide range of literature on local government<sup>7</sup> but, for the purpose of this discussion, certain features are emphasized. While this is not an extensive overview, it provides sufficient background to the case study. This section should be seen as a contribution to the growing body of information on this area of study in recent years.

This chapter refers to the term 'local government' rather than 'local state' because "the state has dispensed forms

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7. See Bekker, LePere and Tomlinson (1986), Todes, Watson and Wilkinson (1986), Mare (1986) and Bekker and Humphries (1985))

of representation at local level which exclude the possibility of the control of resources governed by the local state" (Hughes and Grest, 1983).

A local authority is defined as a second or third tier of government at a local level embedded in a national, regional or 'higher' tier of government with wider powers (Totemeyer, 1988). In the South African situation, local authorities take the form of structures such as Black Local Authorities, Coloured and Indian Management Committees and White Municipalities. The recent Regional Services Councils can be seen as a form of second tier government.

According to Hanekom (1988) local authorities have two main functions. The first is participation, in particular the participation of as many of the inhabitants of the area under its jurisdiction in making policy around local needs. The second is the service or discharge of public goods at an economical rate to the community.

The above mentioned structures in South Africa lack legitimacy, trust, efficiency and credibility in the eyes of the majority of South Africans (Totemeyer, 1988) and until they gain these qualities they cannot be successful. The root cause of their failure is the unresolved question

of the national political franchise. There is sufficient evidence to show that virtually all structures of local government remain impotent as long as they are defined from the ideology of apartheid. The 1980's particularly, have shown increasing community resistance to participation or support for local government.

It is no surprise that struggles against local government are taking place. It is and "has always been the political, ideological and symbolic expression of urban meaning." In apartheid South Africa, local government has always reflected the urban policy objectives of the state (Swilling, 1988, 183).

Alternatives to the present system at the local level depend heavily on what happens at a national level. The state has ignored this separation and attempted to see local government as a point where conflict can be deflected. This has not been the case (Swilling, 1988).

This chapter examines the nature of local government in South Africa. There is also an overview of the history of local government structures and their function and present structure. The chapter then turns to examine the power and influence of local government and struggles against it. Before concluding with an examination of a future



alternative, the present situation is assessed. This chapter is an important contribution to the discourse because it examines an area which is central to a resolution of the crisis in KwaThandeka and more broadly in South Africa today. A knowledge of local government is crucial to an understanding of the socio-political and economic conflict in South Africa presently. Further it is in this context that the role of the planner is determined.

#### 4.2 THE NATURE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

The South African government has attempted to depoliticise decision-making through the introduction of a three tier parliamentary system. This is in stark contrast to community demands for participation in decision-making and the increasing politicisation of the planning arena as witnessed in the 1984-1986 period of uprising (Klein, 1985).

The government has introduced local government outside the 'homelands' because they perceive it as an important area for the expression of black people's political aspirations and the maintenance of power and control. These structures have experienced shortages of finance and the structures have been seen as illegitimate. Black people,

in particular African communities, have been suspicious of local government because it is seen to be trying to steer the majority of South Africans away from representation at a national level (Heymans, 1988).

Government representatives continually refer to a devolution of power to the local authorities. They are essentially attempting to defuse the critical situation at local government level by increasing the size of the security forces on the one hand and embarking on limited upgrading in some chosen areas on the other (Boraine, 1988).

The National Security Management System (NSMS) is a central part of the governments plan to ensure its strategy. At a local level this consists of a network of Joint Management Councils (JMC's), sub-JMC's and mini-JMC's (see Appendix B). The JMC's "may seek liaison with non-governmental groups or people, only governmental personal can enjoy full participation in the JMC's" (Seegers, 1988, 132).

This is not the case with mini- and sub-JMC's. Non-governmental groups can participate fully in their operation. Each JMC has various committees which function within its ambit. Their two primary functions are:

a) security aided by the Joint Operational Centres (JOC) and Joint Intelligence Centres (JIC) and b) the welfare function served by the Communications Committee (COMCOM).

Below these structures are the local management centres. They are divided into "municipal management systems, economic management systems and social management systems" (Seegers, 1988, 133) (see Appendix B).

The NSMS is an important determinant of local government. Local government structures have undertaken the implementation of removals, the pass laws and housing strategies (Swilling, 1986, 35). The structures of local government do not operate in isolation. They are part of the broader state structures of minority rule. These include the army, police, municipal police and special constables, vigilante forces, an ethnically constituted education system, local, regional and national forms of government and a bureaucracy which is a key source of patronage and privilege and many times more problematic than in most other countries because it is duplicated for each ethnic group and 'homeland' (Swilling, 1986).

#### 4.3 STRUCTURES OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The Stallard Commission of 1921 introduced the notion

that a black person "should only be allowed to enter urban areas ... when he is willing to enter and to minister to the needs of the white man, and should depart therefrom when he ceases so to minister" (Hindson, 1987, 37). This notion was adopted by the South African Party and became state policy (O'Meara, 1983).

Subsequent local governments have implemented this policy through influx control, land use patterns, housing provision, residential segregation and financing mechanisms (Swilling, 1986). Central government did not 'force' local government to carry out its policies but allowed each area to determine the way in which they were to be implemented, understanding differing local conditions.

The Native Urban Areas Act of 1923 established Advisory Boards for Africans. These were not representative bodies and were established on a purely advisory basis for the white municipalities. In reality however, this consultation was rare and paternalistic (Swilling, 1986).

In 1961, thirteen years after the National Party came to power, Urban Bantu Councils (UBC's) were introduced. Many advisory boards, controlled by the African National Congress, refused to become UBC's because they were not a

genuine transfer of power at a local level and they were linked to 'homeland' 'independence'. The UBC's were legally provided with advisory, executive and administrative powers. The local financial system however, remained under the control of white municipalities (Swilling, 1986).

Bantu Affairs Administration Boards (B.A.BS) were introduced in the early 1970's. Their function was to streamline and centralise influx control and township management. They had jurisdiction over all people living outside the 'homelands'. Even their direct control by the Minister of the then Department of Bantu Administration and Development did not enable them to achieve their desired goal of a "smoother, more efficient and therefore more profitable running of the machinery of control over the daily lives of township inhabitants" (Hughes and Grest, 1983, 125).

The Community Councils Act of 1977 introduced Community Councils in an attempt to depoliticise local government and deflect anger at increasing rent and service charges from the white Administration Boards to the township dwellers themselves. They were mere extensions of the Administration Boards, and not autonomous municipalities, set up to legitimise the collection of rent and service



charges. They were directly controlled by the Minister of Co-operation and Development (Hughes and Grest, 1983).

The Black Local Authorities Act of 1982 was based on the recommendations of the Riekert Commission (1979), which suggested that black people should be given municipal authorities (Hindson, 1987). Ties between the BAABS and the Black Local Authorities were severed. Part of this notion of 'self-government' was that they should finance themselves. The failure of the Black Local Authorities was therefore attributed to a lack of autonomy. This was only part of the reason for their failure. Issues of legitimacy, financial viability, links to 'homeland' structures, the insider-outsider distinction and the offensive launched by the United Democratic Front in 1983 were not considered as possible reasons for their failure (Swilling, 1986).

By the end of 1984 the Black Local Authorities were in ruins. However, they were incorporated into the Regional Services Councils in November 1984. The aim of this exercise was to build "multiracial metropolitan governments that ... manage the metropolitan areas across group area and bantustan boundaries" (Swilling, 1986, 29).

The RSC's have been widely criticised by a broad spectrum

of groups and individuals (researchers such as Swilling (1988), individuals such as Mandy (1986) and organisations such as COSATU and the UDF). The RSC's have been criticised for overtaxing business, the cost of which will in turn be passed onto the consumer; involving yet another level of bureaucracy; being undemocratic because they are not made up of people who have been directly elected and they will not raise enough finance to achieve one of their aims which is the upgrading of the townships (Swilling, 1988).

The municipal elections to be held on the 26 of October 1988 are an attempt by the government to show to the world that the policy of separate but equal is a viable option for the problems facing South Africa. Secondly, the state wants to use the elections to revive structures such as the Black Local Authorities. Thirdly, to use the elections to prepare the ground for the institution of the National Council (previously called the National Statutory Council). Finally the elections are aimed at showing that the upgrading schemes, many of which will be complete, are the work of the councillors who have remained in office.

The new provincial government system means closer and firmer control by the central government. The abolition of provincial councils indicates that "the provinces are

now ruled through executives which are appointed by the State President" (Heymans, 1988, 39). They are responsible to parliament through the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

All these structures of local government are intertwined with the structures of the National Security Management System which is ultimately answerable to the State President (Seegers, 1988).

Local government has continued to perpetuate inequalities in social relations. It has perpetuated the racial nature and context of the government and of apartheid ideology.

This occurs through

"the transformation of 'crucial socio-economic relations and differences between social groups such as those of classes, sexes or races ... to the legal relations of supposedly individual, equal or identical citizens'" (Duncan and Goodwin, 1982 quoted in Watson, 1988, 168).

#### 4.4 THE POWER AND INFLUENCE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The structure of the National Security Management System has been examined above. Analysing the power and influence of this system is important if one is to understand the functioning of local government.

Control over the National Security Management System can be claimed by the Office of the State President which "with its comprehensive and central planning function has ensured that ... development and security planning can be done at one central point and in a coordinated way" (Republic of South Africa, 1980 quoted in Seegers, 1988, 129). The control of the local state is therefore to some extent in the hands of the State President and the State Security Council which can override most local government decisions or counter them through the JMC structures.

A second structure which can claim control is the security establishment namely the National Intelligence Service (NIS), South African Defence Force (SADF), the South African Police (SAP) and the Department of Defence (DOD).

The state's position is that local government and local politics is dependent on the dynamics between 'larger forces' to a degree. According to the government one of these is 'aggressive communism', which is part of the 'Total Onslaught'. Local government is not immune from this attack and therefore local government must be efficient, rational, coordinated and must not involve too much red tape (Seegers, 1986).

Seegers (1988) states that this preoccupation with the

'Total Onslaught' undermines local affairs and limits the powers of local government. The central government is therefore using the symbols and imagery of 'Total Onslaught' to maintain tighter control and centralisation.

Local government also has other limitations. It cannot address issues such as poverty, unemployment, housing shortages and inequality. Local government can only intervene to a limited extent on the socio-economic forces operating on international and national levels.

In societies which have relative social and economic equality, local government with universal franchise can be the most democratic form of representation. In societies where there are social inequalities, however, distortions can occur under a system of local government with negative results for those at an economic, political and social disadvantage. The two main factors influencing the power structures of local government in the second situation are firstly, the definition of ward boundaries ensuring that the interventions of the disadvantaged are nullified. Secondly, the structure of the local council can influence the nature of representation (Watson, 1988).

These limitations on local government are important and must be considered in the South African system in the



context of centralisation and control by the central government and non-elected covert structures such as the Joint Management Centres.

#### 4.5 STRUGGLES AGAINST LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Struggles against local government in South Africa are often expressed around a number of differing issues. These include the increase of rentals, inadequate facilities and the foisting of 'municipal autonomy' on a community (McCarthy and Smit, 1984).

##### Issues around which struggles occur

This section examines a some of the issues around which community organisations arise focusing especially on the issue of rent as it is of crucial relevance to the community of KwaThandeka.

Local communities have not only opposed certain policies, but they have also provided alternatives to these policies. A number of alternative structures have been established, many constructed around the principles and traditions of the Freedom Charter. One example mentioned in the previous chapter was the Mountain Committee set up in Pondoland in 1960 (Boraine, 1987). According to the

United Democratic Front, the street committees which emerged in the 1984-1986 period of resistance are another example of structures set up under the guidelines of the Freedom Charter (UDF, 1987).

For generations South Africans have been fighting the structures of local government which have sought to crush them and their organisations. The state's system of local government has been virtually destroyed in the 1980's (Swilling, 1986). The formulation of alternative structures had already begun in some parts of the country such as Alexandra (1985/1986), Cradock (1985) and Mamelodi (1985/86) but were short-lived. The majority of these 'liberated zones' were suppressed by the state through the deployment of troops, the imposition of the State of Emergency and the detention of members these alternative structures (UDF, 1987).

In Mamelodi in the Transvaal gross overcrowding, unemployment, mass poverty and few public facilities are evident. In November 1985 rents were increased. In protest of the proposed rent increases which had occurred for the fourth time in as many years, 50 000 residents marched to the town council offices and presented four demands. They demanded the lowering of rents, that the security forces leave the township, that restrictions on

funerals be lifted and that the community councillors resign. Thirteen residents were killed by the police (Boraine, 1987).

The response of the community to this action was to stop rent payments. The council countered by stopping rubbish removal. The community in turn responded by clearing the rubbish themselves and building parks which were soon found on every corner of Mamelodi.

By March 1986 street committees had been elected in the majority of streets. Two representatives were sent to section committee meetings and each section sent two representatives to the central council (Boraine, 1987).

This is one example of organisation around the issue of rent which stands out in strong contrast to the local government structures which lack legitimacy and are perceived by the community as part of the central state control of residents in the township.

Other townships around the country such as Alexandra in the Transvaal and Cradock in the Eastern Cape have had similar experiences. (Work in Progress, 38, 1985)

Consumer boycotts have been another strategy used by

communities to counter the actions of the state in many small towns. The economic and social infrastructure of many of these towns have been deteriorating due to the economic recession and therefore consumer boycotts by black consumers have had very negative effects on their economies. The local authorities of some of these small towns have been prepared to consider alternatives outside the parameters of government policy. The actual establishment of such alternatives have not become realities, often due (it is presumed) to the intervention of the Joint Management Centres (Atkinson and Heymans, 1988).

#### 4.6 THE PRESENT SITUATION

Why is resistance to local government continuing? Local government under apartheid "has consistently reflected the state's urban policy objectives" (Swilling, 1988, 183). At times local government has objected to implementing certain policies, but they have had to bow to orders from the central state.

Local authorities have been separate and racially defined. They have lacked political legitimacy which has been shown by the low polls, attacks on community councillors, rent boycotts, and the collapse of several black town and city

councils and their replacement by alternative structures. There are large inequalities in the standard of living and wealth between different racially defined communities. The black municipalities are ineffective, financially bankrupt, inexperienced and unstable. The existence of different racial local institutions which are totally separate have resulted in a lack of comprehension, co-operation and communication (Atkinson, 1988).

The resort to repression (in the form of the renewed State of Emergency, troops in the townships etc.) has had severe effects on local government. The use of the security forces against alternative forms of local government has resulted in an increase in the lack of legitimacy of local government as it is seen to play a part in the repression of alternative structures.

Two main reasons given for the rejection of black local government are a) that it is perceived of as unrepresentative, therefore in effect "local institutions continue to be based on ethnic foundations." And b) that black people have not been thoroughly consulted about the form of representation that they want (Poto, 1988, 100). Black Local Authorities are seen as extensions of the governments policy of separate development. They are perceived to be accessories to the 'homeland' system.



The governments initiatives at a local level have all the inadequacies of 'reform' in general. Once again it can be seen that conflict at a local level is integrally connected to the national political crisis (Poto, 1988).

#### 4.7 A FUTURE VISION

This chapter has so far discussed the history and nature of local government. This last section will present an alternative form of local government.

In the Freedom Charter it is stated that 'The People Shall Govern'. This clause includes the proposal that "every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws", "all the people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country" and that "all bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government."

In the new 'Constitutional Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa' the ANC states "Sovereignty shall belong to the people as a whole and shall be exercised through one central legislature, executive, judiciary and

administration. Provision shall be made for the delegation of the powers of the central authority to subordinate administrative units for purposes of more efficient administration and democratic participation." It continues "All organs of government, including justice, security and armed forces, shall be representative of the people as a whole, democratic in their structure and functioning, and dedicated to defending the principles of the constitution" (see Appendix A.2)

It is clear from this approach that the finance system of the local authority, the powers allocated to it, the structure of it and the system of representation will have to be radically changed and not just reformed.

A future vision also includes the removal of racial discrimination in local government, an elimination of an inefficient bureaucracy and improved efficiency. It also includes political legitimacy and an approach which encourages the participation of all citizens at all levels of government.

According to Atkinson (1988) some community demands, such as the desegregation of facilities have been quite compatible with the 'state reform approach' process. Other demands made by black communities include the

provision of adequate facilities in the townships such as old-age homes, libraries and parks; better standards of living in the townships; the abolition of the Black Local Authorities with the aim of establishing non-racial municipalities; the unbanning of banned organisations; and freeing of detainees and political prisoners (Atkinson, 1988).

As Swilling (1988) has shown, urban upgrading, one of the present government's attempts to legitimise local government, "can only be effective if it is managed by legitimate democratically elected local government structures" (Swilling, 1988, 195).

The decentralisation of local government is the most important way of ensuring that all citizens can take part in the governing of the country and the area under that local authority's jurisdiction, and citizens participate more than once every five years in the administration of their area. Every citizen should be able to express her/his opinion on the wide range of issues brought to the attention of the local authority.

#### 4.8 CONCLUSION

The struggle against local government is not for a local

solution as some observers have mistakenly assumed. It is part of a national solution for the transfer of power to the majority of South Africans. The solving of local problems cannot be done effectively without consideration of the question of political franchise.

The formulation of a counter system of local government encapsulated in the concept of 'people's power' which emerged in the country between 1984 and 1986, and has been subsequently repressed, have been examples to which we should look to in the future. Many of the communities where the strategy of 'people's power' developed saw a decrease in the crime rate, the building of recreation parks and more efficient running of township services such as refuse removal (Boraine, 1987). Many of the aspects discussed in this chapter are taken up in the case study of the KwaThandeka community.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CASE STUDY OF KWATHANDEKA, AMSTERDAM

#### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to use the case study of Kwathandeka, the African township of Amsterdam in the Eastern Transvaal, to demonstrate the propositions and conclusions of the previous three chapters.

The chapter begins with an introduction to the area and an explanation of the planner's involvement in the project. The methods of research and research results are then outlined. The discussion which follows draws together the research results and the points made in the previous three chapters. This chapter concludes with some suggested solutions to the problems outlined in the discussion and examines the planner's contribution.

Kwathandeka is a small town situated 313 km east of Johannesburg near the Swaziland border. The population had been under threat of removal to KaNgwane since 1974 being reprieved in August 1987 after a long series of negotiations with the authorities.



Amsterdam was proclaimed an urban area under Section 12 of the Natives Urban Areas Act of 1923 on 1 December 1924 (Government Gazette, No. 1418, 1924, 279). "[A] village for the residence of natives" was established by the Minister of Native Affairs under the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923 on the 12 January 1940 (Government Gazette, No. 2721, 1940, 58).

The 'white' town functions as a central place settlement and agricultural service centre and more importantly as a military base due to its close proximity to the Swaziland border. State structures in the 'white' town are still controlled by the National Party. However, the majority of the farmers support the Conservative Party.

According to the census of 1985, the total population of Kwathandeka was 1 557 people. The research undertaken by the project, in which the planner was involved, showed that this was not the case as will be seen in the research results. The census data collected by the state excludes people who are in the area but not legally and does not account for hostility to state representatives. It is not neutral and is understated so as not to meet the need for housing, education and other infrastructural requirements (McNeill, 1985).

The planners' work in the community of KwaThandeka has been two-fold. Firstly, the planner was involved in a planning project initiated on behalf of the Amsterdam Home Committee by the Transvaal Rural Action Committee. This planning project is ongoing and in no way limited to this discourse. Secondly, the planner was involved in KwaThandeka in order to undertake study for the discourse.

Initially the aim of the planning project was to provide a physical plan for the area, for the community of Kwathandeka (represented by the Amsterdam Home Committee (AHC)) so as to provide an alternative to the government planners. This physical plan was required because the community were not satisfied with what they expected the state to propose.

In KwaThandeka those involved in the project and the AHC felt that a full development plan would be costly and could not be implemented because the AHC did not have the power or resources to do so. A physical plan would not address all the development issues facing the community.

The objectives of the project therefore changed. They became the provision of an affordable and technically comprehensive alternative to the government's development suggestions. Those involved in the project believed that

this would make the demands of the community legitimate by proving that those demands could be implemented cheaply and appropriately.

An important component of the whole project, has been that community participation in the planning process has been maintained. This took place through constant consultations with the AHC. The AHC has been involved in negotiations with the authorities on various township matters since August 1987.

This discourse, while not limiting the objectives and direction of the project, is a component of the project as a whole and therefore while it covers most aspects of the project, only relevant aspects are analysed.

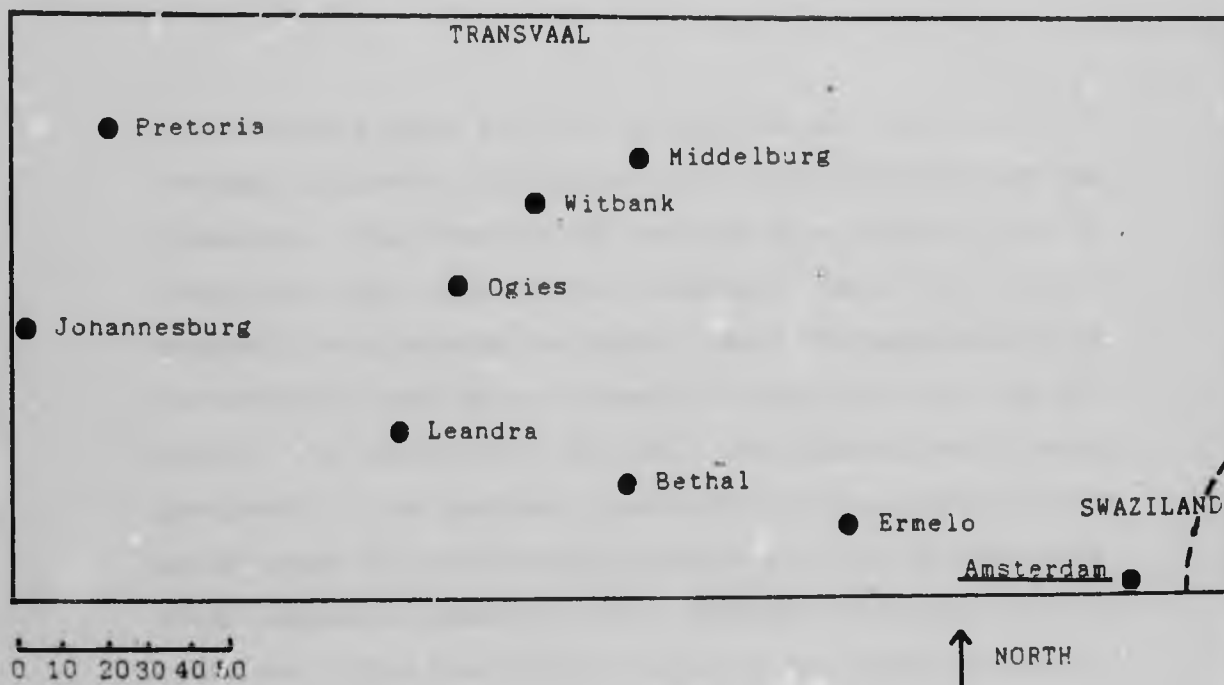


Illustration 1. Location of KwaThandeka in relation to Johannesburg.

## 5.2 METHODS OF RESEARCH

Research in South Africa is not as clear cut as it may initially appear to be. Various factors such as intimidation of both subjects and interviewers and the potential loss of information through seizure by the Security Branch of the South African Police or arson are a reality which must be dealt with.

Consideration must also be given to the implication of

overstepping ones project boundaries in the course of academic research which might be to the detriment of the community. The conflict of working on a project for the community and undertaking academic research in the community was brought to light, when the possibility of interviewing both white farmers in the area and the JMC arose. In debate with the AHC, the planner and others involved in the project considered the problems which could arise in the community from this line of activity. After extensive debate, the consensus was that the AHC could not allow the planner, who was not widely known in the community, to be mistaken by some residents for a government employee. This was considered untenable because the majority position in the debate maintained that serious divisions between sectors of the community and the AHC could arise. While it was agreed by all participants in the debate that interviewing both white farmers in the area and the JMC should contribute substantially to the planners discourse, the AHC felt that it would not be in a position to explain this fully to the community.

The AHC also noted that the State of Emergency and the actions of the security forces severely limited their ability to clear up problems which might arise from these interviews.



The planner believes that responsibility to, and trust by, the client are paramount and this would have been violated had the interviews been conducted. The conflict was not easy or lightly regarded by either party because of its academic importance.

Continuing work in the planning project with the possibility of interviewing the white farmers and the JMC in the future was felt to be preferable to conducting the aforementioned interviews for the sake of the completeness of the discourse. This omission might be regarded as detracting from the "pursuit of truth", however, the planner contends that such pursuit must be undertaken at a pace determined by the client in this case.

Four basic methods of research were used in assessing the development problems in the community. An indoor public meeting with the permission of the magistrate hosted by the AHC, was held on the 28 May 1988 to discuss with residents the problems facing them. The questions were open and much of the meeting was devoted to open discussion (see Appendix D).

The second method of research conducted by the planner was the social survey. The AHC felt that the number of

questions which would be asked in the social survey should be kept to a minimum (Interview, 27-4-88, AHC). The primary reason for this was that many residents are suspicious of house to house surveys which are often undertaken by government officials. People would also express their opinions more freely in a general meeting whereas aggression and mistrust might result from house to house visits where too many questions were asked.

The whole community was surveyed over a period of three days. The social survey was administered face to face in the form of a standardised interview. Closed questions were used with the main aim to gather demographic information (see appendix E). Due to both the large number of people to be interviewed and the language barrier between the planner and the interviewees, a number of teachers and other members of the community (between 5 and 10) volunteered to help. They were all briefed and trained by the planner, prior to conducting the interviews, to counter "the danger of 'interviewer effect'" (McNeill, 1985, 35). The closed nature of the questions also countered the affects of multiple interviewers.

Anonymity was assured and respondents were not required to give their names although the stand number was recorded.

The interview is an artificial situation and there is no guarantee that people would not want to hide information as often occurs in census counts in South Africa and elsewhere in the world (McNeill, 1985).

Unstructured interviews were held with the AHC on an ongoing basis<sup>8</sup> to determine if the direction in which the project was going was correct and what the next step the client required was.

Secondary data was also used to determine the nature of the development problems in the area. These included both personal and public documents of the Legal Resources Centre (LRC) and TRAC. Unfortunately the bomb blast on August 31 1988 at Khotso House curtailed access to historical documents on the area of the case study.

Through a review of secondary sources, participant observation and unstructured interviews, it was possible to witness and understand some of the workings of local government in the context of South Africa and KwaThandeka. The planner was also able to gauge the attitude of the residents to local government by being closely involved with them. Primary data such as minutes from meetings

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8. These took place on ; 27-04-99, 28-05-88 to 31-05-88 and 02\08-88

held between the various groupings also provided important information.

Observations on the role of the planner were drawn from reading undertaken during the course of study and participant observation in the project. This was fed by the results of the social survey, experience in the planning project and unstructured interviews with the AHC.

### 5.3 RESEARCH RESULTS

The total population of KwaThandeka is 2 647 individuals. The estimated population for the houses recorded is 3 855 individuals. The maximum stand number is 266, of which 263 stands have houses and 3 have churches. The total number of houses recorded was 534. There is therefore an average of 2,03 houses per stand. The total number of females is 1 412. The total number of males is 1 235.

#### Struggles for land

The history of KwaThandeka is typical of the growth of many small towns in South Africa. Prior to the arrival of the whites the local African people were farmers. In the period after the Boer War (1902) the land the inhabitants had been farming was taken away by the whites through

legislation. In 1928 people who had been farm labourers arrived to live on a farm belonging to a certain Mr. Scheepers. They came to KwaThandeka because they had been thrown off the white farms in the area.

The eldest boy of each family was required to work for Scheepers for 6 months without pay to enable the family to stay on the farm. In 1930, Scheepers no longer required the son to work for him but a rent of 20 to 30 cents had to be paid. In 1936 the rent was increased to 35 cents. Thereafter the farm was sold to the Provincial Administration.

Between 1942 and 1946, after the establishment of the township, a Mr. Naude administered KwaThandeka. He collected rent from the expanding township which was subsequently administered by the municipality (1951/52), the Peri-Urban Board, the Administration Board (1968/69) and the Local Authority (1987).

In 1974 a move to KaNgwane was first raised. Rents continued to increase and the move to KaNgwane was publicly rejected by the community. The community objected on the grounds that they had been paying rent for a long time and they would not get their money back. The people also stood to lose the houses they had built



themselves and the community they had come to be a part of.

The community's response to the councillors' rent increase of 1984, was to form an organisation (AHC) to oppose both the rent increases and the removal to KaNgwane. The councillors continued to try and persuade people to move but in August 1987 the community was told that they were no longer to be removed to KaNgwane (Interviews 27-04-88 and 02-08-88).

Land for housing is an important development issue facing the community of KwaThandeka. According to the minutes of a meeting held on 31-08-87, 52 people had so far applied for accommodation and another 28 were on the list. In another meeting between the AHC and officials of the Department of Constitutional Development, it was reported that there was a shortage of sites for expansion and building where residents' children could settle. The superintendent of the township said there were 350 vacant residential stands and no applications for them.

According to the officials at the above meeting, no stands had been allocated in the past because all development in KwaThandeka had been frozen pending the move to KaNgwane. It was recommended that the name, details and size of

families of those wanting stands be given to the Local Authority Committee.

Approximately 2 months later it was reported that 152 people had applied for sites. The AHC was told that there were only 30 sites available for allocation (Minutes, 30-10-87).

In January 1988 the RDCSPA recalled that there were 350 stands available but the problem was that they could not be identified. Therefore the township had to be planned otherwise this could result in conflict between the plan and the random allocation.

To date no stands have been allocated and the local authorities have attempted to put new residents in other residents' yards.

#### Struggles against Local Government

No elections for any form of local government for KwaThandeka have been held for a number of years. The councillors have been demolishing their opponents' houses on the pretext that they have been built without plans. They have cut off the water to the township, particularly to the school which pays rent and service charges. There

is no apparent reason to single out the school. They have been allocating houses with preference to farm workers (Minutes, 27-01-87).

According to officials of the Development Board, a Local Authority Committee was established in terms of Section 5 of the Black Local Authorities Act of 1984. Five people had been elected at a meeting of residents in September 1984 and these names had been submitted to the Minister for approval. Ministerial approval had been confirmed in November 1984. In October 1986 a notice in the Government Gazette by the State President stated that all local authority positions were to be frozen until the October 1988 elections.

There was dispute between residents and members of the Local Authority Committee over the meeting which was supposed to have taken place on the 7 September 1984 to elect the Local Authority Committee. The AHC stated that there was no public notice and therefore residents did not know of the meeting. An official of the Department of Constitutional Development stated at a meeting with the community that as far as the Department were concerned those people were legally elected and would remain the representatives until October 1988 (Meeting, 31-08-87). Powers were given to the Local Authority Committee on the

21 October 1987. (Minutes, 30-10-87)

It is very likely that the National Security Management System through the Standerton Joint Management Council or mini-JMC has been active in these deliberations and with the Local Authority Committee. The Chairperson of the AHC was called into the local police station to speak to a group of people about participation in the forthcoming municipal elections. He says he did not know many of the people, but recognised the head of the army base which is just outside the town. This was in all likelihood a NSMS structure.

During the course of the work on the case study, a number of issues pertinent to the relationship between the community and the local government were revealed. These were: payment of rents, development of a town plan, health, education, housing, water, sanitation, business licenses, refuse removal and, roads and storm water drainage.

These development issues form the content of the community's struggle against local government in KwaThandeka. The questions of the payment of rents and the development of a town plan have dominated these local struggles.

a) Payment of Rent

Central to the struggle against local government in KwaThandeka has been the issue of rent. The residents had, until July 1985, paid an amount of R10-50 per month to the local authority. The people living in KwaThandeka are obliged to pay site rent and service charges.

In 1985, the rent was increased to R12,12 per month, by the Eastern Transvaal Development Board (Memo, January 1988). This increase was illegal because the increase was not published in the Government Gazette. The community refused to pay the increase in rent because they maintained that the Local Authority had not been legally constituted and the increase had taken place without any consultation. The result was that although residents were willing to pay the rent of R10,50, none was paid because the Development Board officials were prepared to accept only the R12,12 or nothing at all. The situation that developed was essentially a rent boycott. On the 27 October 1987, the officials conceded that there was no lawful basis for attempting to extract a rent in excess of R10,50 per month (Memo, January 1988).

The AHC blamed the councillors for the rent boycott



because they said when residents, in in all innocence tendered rent, they were told to go away. The RDCSPA responded by stating that if the residents wanted services they would have to pay rent (Minutes, 31-08-87).

In October 1987, the Nelspruit office of the local authority accepted that a rental of R10,50 was due from 1 April 1982. They stated they would credit any rental paid in excess but urged residents to pay their arrears. The residents of the township were prepared to pay the R10,50, but did not see why they should have to pay the arrears as there had not been any development in the township for many years because of the threat of removal to KaNgwane (Minutes, 30-10-87).

The rent issue was also discussed at the meeting held on the 8 January 1988. Notices had been served on the residents calling on them to pay arrears and rent and threatening eviction. The residents again stated that the problem was not with the payment of rent but with the arrears. The RDCSPA stated that he wished to start afresh with KwaThandeka and not with rents.

The residents recognise that the provision of services must be commensurate with the average income levels of the area and are concerned that the services are affordable

(Interviews 27-04-88 and 02-08-88).

Two issues therefore remain. Firstly people will not pay rent until they are satisfied as to how the money will be spent. Secondly a long term issue is that negotiations should take place as to the amount of rent the community can afford and which services should be provided (Memo, January 1988).

The non-payment of rent in KwaThandeka is not due to a political campaign but rather to a history of administrative errors on the part of officials. The present dispute would not have existed, had the officials had refrained from attempting to impose an unlawful rent on the community and not refused to accept the lawful rent tendered by the community (Memo, January 1988).

Presently the Transvaal Provincial Administration is prepared to act as a mediator to discuss the amount payable and the arrears. These sensitive negotiations are presently underway but no results have yet been achieved or made public. The meetings have produced a description and breakdown of service charges which the community has been trying to obtain for a long time. These are;

| <u>Service</u>     | <u>Per Month</u> |
|--------------------|------------------|
| Town Management    | R6-15            |
| Roads and Streets  | R1-11            |
| Cleansing Services | R2-22            |
| Water              | R1-02            |
| <b>TOTAL</b>       | <b>R10-50</b>    |

Illustration 2. The breakdown of Service Charges per month for the Community of KwaThandeka

b) A town plan for KwaThandeka

In January 1988 the RDCSPA stated that a town planner had been appointed. He could not promise when the town plan would be completed, the latest time being April 1988. It has still not materialised.

There has been confusion over the appointment of the town planner by the Local Authority. The minutes of the meeting of the appointment of the planner have been withheld. The community suspects the township manager, (who is now in jail for stealing money from the account of the Local Authority) appointed the planner on his own accord without consulting the Local Authority (Interview,

02-08-88).

"The fact that there has been virtually no development or provision of services in the township was acknowledged by ... Chief Director of the Eastern Transvaal Development Board ... and again by the head of Community Services" (Memo, January 1988, 4).

Funding for the town plan has been obtained from the East Vaal Regional Services Council, although the exact amount is not known, nor whether it is a donation or a loan (Memo, Abbott, 1988).

#### c) Health

Kwathandeka does not have a clinic. At a meeting on August 31 1987 the RDCSPA agreed to speak to the Department of National Health and Population Development and arrange for a mobile clinic to visit the area until the town had been properly planned to include a clinic.

The community presently has access to a private doctor in the white town, who is available from 11h00 to 13h00 if he is not seeing white patients. They have limited access to a nurse who works at a clinic in Amsterdam once a week during office hours. The nurse primarily serves the white

population.

The hospital is situated in Piet Retief, approximately 54 km from Kwathandeka. The ambulance is in the 'care' of the magistrate of the white town. If a member of the community of Kwathandeka needs to use it, they must apply to the magistrate for permission. This is not possible at night. The nurse is not available nor is the doctor as they both reside elsewhere. Therefore there is no health service available at night. The ambulance was refused on two occasions to convey residents of Kwathandeka to hospital resulting in the death of the two residents (Minutes, 30-10-87).

The most common diseases are those which affect women, children and the aged. These include diarrhoea, measles, scabies, malnutrition and other diseases associated with child birth, child care and old age.

#### d) Education

In August 1987, it was reported that the Department of Education and Training (DET) had agreed to establish a secondary school provided that a site was allocated by Constitutional Development. In November 1987 the DET in Pietermaritzburg was dealing with the issue (Interview,



27-04-88).

According to the headmaster of the school, which presently operates up to standard 8, there are a total of 880 students. The distribution of pupils according to standards is given in Illustration 4 (Interview, 27-05-88).

| Standard    | No. in Standard |
|-------------|-----------------|
| Sub-A       | 97              |
| Sub-B       | 104             |
| Standard 1  | 77              |
| Standard 2  | 88              |
| Standard 3  | 103             |
| Standard 4  | 112             |
| Standard 5  | 111             |
| Standard 6  | 80              |
| Standard 7  | 68              |
| Standard 8  | 43              |
| Standard 9  | -               |
| Standard 10 | -               |
| TOTAL       | 880             |

Illustration 3. Table of pupils per standard

There are 22 teachers and 18 classrooms including 3 church

buildings. An additional 400 pupils are attending secondary school in Kangwane where they are taught in Swazi (as opposed to Zulu at the KwaThandeka school).

A site for the secondary school has now been allocated.

#### e) Housing

The allocation and demolition of housing has caused problems. The people in the community build and design their own houses without outside assistance. The freeze on building instituted by the local authority has had a severe affect on the density of houses on each stand. There are 7,2 people per house or 14,7 people per stand.

New houses which have been built in defiance of the prevention of building have been demolished even when they have been built with the permission of the renter of the site. Residents believe that there is bribery involved in the allocation of housing. They reported this to the police some time before the 11 February 1987 but no action was taken (Minutes, 11-02-88).

The houses have a durability period of approximately 15 years as they are built of mud, stones, wood and corrugated iron. They are severely weakened by termites,

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The houses have a durability period of approximately 15 years as they are built of mud, stones, wood and corrugated iron. They are severely weakened by termites,

wind and rain. The community would like to build with concrete blocks but the expense and the fear of removal has restrained them from doing so (Interview, 27-4-88).



Illustration 4. The nature of housing in KwaThandeka

f) Water

Provision of water has been unreliable for a long period of time (Minutes, 07-04-87 and Memo January 1988). The taps are often out of order and not repaired. Some pipes lie above ground resulting in the temperature of the water being very high especially during the summer. In several

wind and rain. The community would like to build with concrete blocks but the expense and the fear of removal has restrained them from doing so (Interview, 27-4-88).



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areas there is only one tap per 150 people and residents need to walk up to 340 m to reach the tap. This often means queues for water and alot of time and energy wasted on water collection. (Interview, 27-04-88)

When the taps run dry the nearby river is utilised. The residents have complained that the army camp deposits its sewerage in the river resulting in contamination and health problems (Minutes, 24-08-87).

The RDCSPA stated in January 1988, at a meeting with the community, that a gift of R2 000 had been received to improve the water situation. But that this could not be spent until the town was properly planned.



Illustration 5. A standpipe in KwaThandeka

g) Sanitation

The community presently have a bucket system of sanitation. Pit latrines were utilised until 1977/78 when the community were forced to fill these in because the Department of National Health and Population Development alleged that the water from the pit latrines was polluting the river in the area (Abbott, Fine and Oelefse, 1988).

Subsequent tests of the soil have shown that this is not the case. Two pits were dug in different parts of KwaThandeka, one close to the river and the other further away. The sand would filter any impurities that might reach the river from a minimum of 20 m (Abbott, Fine and Oelefse, 1988).

The buckets are collected 3 times a week between 08h00 and 09h00. They are put out at 06h00. They are not checked for cracks. The residents of KwaThandeka consider the service to be extremely poor. Dogs often knock over the buckets and children have been seen playing in the proximity of spilt buckets (Interview, 21-08-88).

In a meeting held on the 31-08-87 the RDCSPA acknowledged that there was a problem with the bucket system. His

suggestion was that all those who were unemployed report to the township office where they would be paid R4,00 a day to dig holes. Nothing has come of this suggestion.

Some people living in the town have built corrugated iron shacks as lavatories while others have had them built for them. They both pay the same service charges (Meeting, 08-01-88).



Illustration 6. A self-built toilet structure

#### h) Business Licenses

In January 1987 the superintendent refused to issue business licenses because residents were not paying rent (Minutes, 27-01-87).

The licenses would not be issued residential for land and it was stated that the stand would first have to be subdivided for business and residential purposes. But this was not applied consistently. The RDCSPA admitted that there were problems in this regard but again blamed it on the nonexistence of the town plan.

The local authority was ordered not to agree to any business structures or sites being given to any person from the date of the meeting (31-08-87).

The matter is still unresolved as the town plan, which local government has said is in preparation, has not materialised.

#### i) Refuse removal

This service has been virtually suspended. The majority of residents do not have rubbish bins and the rubbish is not collected at each house.

j) Roads and Storm water drainage


In the often violent thunderstorms which take place in KwaThandeka, it is common for water to run into people's houses. This has an erosive effect resulting in the destruction of many houses. The roads are also eroded as there is no storm water drainage.



Illustration 7. The state of the roads and storm water drainage





 Proposed new sites  
 Illustration 8. KwaThandeka

Planning for the community of KwaThandeka will be directly influenced by the form and content of struggles waged by residents against local government. This reality is a major determinant of the role of the planner in the community of KwaThandeka.

#### Role of the Planner

Through interaction with the residents and based on the

reading which had been undertaken, a number of roles for the planner became evident.

In the process of planning, the planner had to balance ethical considerations with academic ones. For example the planner refrained from interviewing members of local government structures in the area in order to win the community's trust and show respect for democratic principles of operating. The planner was required to operate in constant consultation with the AHC.

The question of raising finance for research and the project as a whole was another important problem. The client was not in a position to pay the planner and as a result the planner had to personally raise the funds necessary for this project.

In this situation it is the client to whom the planner is responsible, and to whom a range of appropriate options from which the community can choose, must be given. In this case the community was clear on what they wanted and the planner had to adapt to these needs as far as possible.

Implementation is an important issue for a planner working for a client who does not have the power of

implementation. In KwaThandeka the solutions being provided are unlikely to be implemented unless they are agreed to by those with whom the power lies.

The planner must also not dominate the community. Therefore every discussion had to be translated into the vernacular so that the whole committee follow. As a community becomes stronger and they have the necessary information the planner should decrease her/his involvement. With respect to the community of KwaThandeka, the planner is conscious of ultimately making the role which has been played no longer crucial and of increasing self-reliance of the community.

The community's suspicions of white people and their motives also had to be anticipated and understood. It was necessary to earn the respect and in turn sincerely respect the decisions taken by the community. It is important to put forward ones informed opinion on a planning issue but at the same time be diplomatic and sensitive to more controversial political issues.

The approach required was by necessity flexible. Although the aims of the project changed the options available to the community were adapted so that they could be beneficial to the community.

Through an examination of the literature on the role of the planner, interaction with the community and an analysis of the present South African context, the issues outlined above were perceived as sensitive and important when embarking on the planning process.

#### 5.4 DISCUSSION

This section focuses on the struggles for land and against local government and examines the development problems that arise. Within this context the role of the planner is discussed.

##### Struggles for Land

KwaThandeka owes its existence to one of the most common reasons for removal. The people in the area had been share croppers or rent tenants, and later labour tenants. The former were forced off the land by the 1913 Land Act and the latter was made illegal by 1980.

Because KwaThandeka was within a 75 km radius of a 'homeland' the township was to be deproclaimed and the residents moved to KaNgwane. As part of the 'homeland' system, KaNgwane was to have been the 'ethnic' 'home' for

the residents of KwaThandeka besides the fact that they were not familiar with the language which is taught in the schools (Swazi).

The response of the residents to the threat of removal, as in the cases of Matiwane's Kop in Northern Natal (1982), Driefontein (1983) and Mathopetad in the Transvaal (1984), and Crossroads in the Western Cape (1986) has been to organise themselves to oppose this threat, rent increases and to fight for infrastructural improvements.

Land as a development issue has been shown to be important for the residents of KwaThandeka. The case of KwaThandeka appears to agree with Angel's (1983) conclusions that the removal of obstacles such as insecurity of tenure encourage the improvement of housing. The KwaThandeka community were under threat of removal until 1987 and although security of tenure is still not absolute, it is greater than it has been previously.

The extended battle with local government structures has undermined the confidence of the residents in its ability to allocate land fairly. The controls placed on access to land and therefore shortages of housing continue to perpetuate these problems. Today the residents of KwaThandeka would like to improve both the quantity and



quality of the housing which exists. They require more land and security of tenure to do so effectively.

#### Struggles against Local Government

Local government in South Africa has always reflected the policy objectives of the state. This includes the implementation of pass laws, provision (or non-provision) of housing and the implementation of removals. In the small KwaThandeka community this is no exception.

As a place outside the 'homelands' the government would like local level representation to be seen as the place where black people can express their political aspirations. The emphasis on the legitimacy of the Local Authority Committee by the Department of Constitutional Development bears out this point.

The local government structures in KwaThandeka lack legitimacy, trust and credibility and they are inefficient. There is dispute over the legality of the Local Authority Committee in KwaThandeka with residents claiming that they did not know of the meeting where candidates were chosen. The councillors have been accused of being involved in corruption in the allocation of housing and the demolition of opponents' housing.

There is not much doubt that the National Security Management System has been active in attempting to persuade the AHC to stand in the forthcoming Municipal Elections. It is yet to be seen if the AHC or individuals from the Committee do stand.

The incorporation of the local authority into the Regional Services Council through an Act of Law and the provision of funds for the town plan is evidence of the states attempt to incorporate black local government into third tier government.

a) Payment of rent

Protests around rent increases have affected many of the townships of South Africa. The increases which took place in KwaThandeka in July 1985 did not occur in isolation. In Mamelodi rents were increased in November 1985. Many other townships have experienced similar rent increases from 1984-1986.

Community response in KwaThandeka was to refuse to pay the increases in rent. This has taken place in many of the townships around the country.

Rent protests in KwaThandeka can be seen as slightly different to other townships as the community refused to pay the increase but were prepared to pay the initial fee of R10,50. Due to bureaucratic inefficiency the rent increases in KwaThandeka became a major issue when the officials of the local authority refused to accept the amount of R10,50.

b) Health

The ideal health professional to patient ratios are set out in the light of minimum ratios. These are:

|                |          |                 |
|----------------|----------|-----------------|
| Nurse          | 1:600    |                 |
| Doctor         | 1:6 000  |                 |
| Dentist        | 1:75 000 |                 |
| Oral Hygienist | 1:18 000 | (de Bear, 1987) |

In the light of these ratios it is possible to estimate the minimum health requirements of the community of KwaThandeka as;

6,4 Nurses  
0,6 Doctor  
0,1 Dentist  
0,2 Oral Hygienist

These figures demonstrate that between 6 and 7 nurses are

needed to serve a community the size of KwaThandeka. They do not show the type of training or level of skill the nurses require. A doctor in KwaThandeka could serve another 2 145 people, a dentist another 61 145 people and an oral hygie st another 14 145 people.

Under a comprehensive health care service, a clinic should be situated within 5 km of every person and serve a population of approximately 10 000 people. A health centre should be located every 400 square kilometers. A central hospital is needed to serve every 150 000 people (de Beer, 1987).

Bearing in mind these requirements a clinic should be located in or within a 5 km radius of KwaThandeka and a health centre within 400 square kilometers. If the hospitals at Piet Retief and Ermelo are presently serving more than 150 000 people each, a new hospital should be considered (Abbott, Fine and Oelefse, 1988).

#### c) Education

Ideal ratios in the educational field are:

Teacher:pupil ratios 1:27

Pupil:classroom

1:27 (Excluding adult education  
which could use the same

classrooms)

These ideal ratio's are a medium between the figures the Department of Education and Training are striving for (1:36) and those for white schools (1:20) (South African Barometer, 1988).

Adult education should also be considered a priority and extra teachers would be required to teach in the evenings.

Based on the ideal figures above the requirements in KwaThandeka are;

Teachers 33

Classrooms 33 (Abbott, Fine and Oelefse, 1988)

#### d) Housing

The shortage of housing is directly connected to both the states policy of limiting housing in urban areas and thereby controlling the urbanisation of people, and a shortage of land for expansion in KwaThandeka.

The community require more stable housing which is resistant to wind rain and heat. Their present use of mud, stones, sticks and corrugated iron has been due both to the exorbitant expense and lack of availability of



concrete blocks. The residents would like to build more permanent structures now that they are no longer under threat of removal but need the land to do so (Abbott, Fine and Oelefse, 1988).

e) Water

The ideal total amount of water used by each person per day is 50 liters per person per day (WHO figures). Presently in KwaThandeka, water consumption may be as low as 10 liters per person per day (Abbott, Fine and Oelefse, 1988). The total capacity of the water tank in no ways caters for this need.

Each tap is used by approximately 150 people per day. This is presently totally inadequate (Abbott, Fine and Oelefse, 1988).

f) Sanitation

The present bucket system of sanitation is highly inefficient. As has been pointed out it probably results in disease and unhealthy living conditions. The building of pit latrines would alleviate this problem to an extent and could be used as a job creation project within the community.

**g) Business Licenses**

There is clearly an urgent need for business licenses as people's livelihoods have been seriously impaired due to the fact that they have not been able to run their shops. There is also a clear need for some form of business in the township which will create both employment and economic activity. This could take the form of formalised hawking areas and fixed business.

**h) Refuse Removal**

Every stand needs to be provided with refuse bins. These should be collected twice a week.

**i) Roads and Storm Water Drainage**

The present state of the roads and provision of storm water drainage is unacceptable.

The roads need to be properly graded. Provision for catchment of storm water must be made urgently if the residents are to build houses of a reasonable construction standard. The drainage system needs to be improved.

### Role of the Planner

Experience working as a planner on the project in KwaThandeka showed that the whole planning process could not be separated from politics and economics. This was partly as a result, of the harassment that the AHC has been experiencing during their attempts to solve the problems they face.

Planning is political because it is not only a technical instrument which can enhance or destroy the welfare of a community. It is political because it responds to issues as either economic, political and/or ideological. Decision-making in planning, as far as implementation is concerned, often only involves those with political power. Planning therefore has its own biases and promotes one interest over another. The case study of KwaThandeka demonstrated this issue clearly. If one is to examine the forces involved in a small community like KwaThandeka it is clear that an ideological agenda is high up on the list of every group.

In South Africa there has been an attempt to depoliticise and decentralise planning. This attempt has not gone unnoticed by the communities of South Africa, who realise (as in the case of KwaThandeka) that planning is political

and that the centre of planning is not the local authority, but the central department. The experience in KwaThandeka has proved this. It is not the local authority which decides on future development but the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning.

A discussion on the role of the planner in South Africa in the light of the above discussions is influenced by the writers belief system, experience in working on the KwaThandeka project and a review of the literature.

The planner in KwaThandeka used the professional skills required to plan in an ethical manner as suggested by McConnell (1981). The planner was required to raise money to pay for the project, thus demonstrating the hypothesis that the client might not be the one who pays for the service.

The community of KwaThandeka indicated that they knew what solutions they required. The planner followed the suggestion of Muller (1981) that the planner should be prepared to accept the solutions generated in the community. These solutions were not above their affordability levels. This was demonstrated at the public meeting where a member of the community suggested that the water borne sewerage sanitation system should be

constructed. He was shouted down by other members of the community who stated they could not afford it.

The importance of flexible planning, suggested by Muller (1982) was demonstrated by the change in the objectives of the project in the case study from the formulation of a physical plan, to the provision of technical information to counter government proposals on development issues.

Planning has been seen to perpetuate the existing class structure (McCarthy and Smit, 1984; Castells, 1977; Beauregard, 1978). In this case the experience was not that the class system could be overturned, but that the potential to alter the balance of forces in favour of the community was increased with technical assistance from the planner.

## 5.5 CONCLUSION

### Struggles for Land

The struggle for land will continue until the majority of South Africans have been returned the land from which they have been dispossessed. The struggle for land will continue alongside the struggle for a national solution to



the present political and socio-economic crisis.

The 'divide and rule' strategy used by the state to divide rural from urban, families from one another and the economically active from the economically inactive must be replaced by an environment where families can live together where they chose.

Important laws such as the 1913 Land Act, the 1952 Group Areas Act and the 1950 Population Registration Act have controlled both access to land and housing. These must be abolished and replaced with laws which reflect the needs and have the support of the majority of South Africans.

#### Struggles against Local Government

In terms of the general development issues in KwaThandeka a number of steps need to be taken urgently. A clinic needs to be provided with sufficient staff and equipment. The cost of such a project, based on experiences of a clinic at Muldersdrift with a much larger population is approximately R300 000 per annum (Muldersdrift Committee, 1988).

This would be a step towards the provision of adequate health care for the community and surrounding area.

A secondary school needs to be built with 14 additional classrooms and 14 teachers. In order to accommodate the 5% growth rate of the population another classroom and teacher will be needed every second year.

The condition of housing should be improved and opportunities for job creation in this area should be seriously examined. This could occur through the encouragement of self-built homes or homes being built by a group within the community.

The tank which holds the water for KwaThandeka must be supplemented or replaced by a much larger one and many more taps need to be installed (the exact figures are still unavailable).

The pit latrines should be constructed in the most efficient and appropriate manner. The possibility of job creation in the project should be examined.

Business licenses must be provided without the separation of residential and business sites as a necessary proviso. The high level of poverty in the area requires that as much economic activity as possible should be encouraged and the creation of jobs is an important part of this.

Refuse removal and roads and storm water drainage should all be dealt with as suggested in the discussion section.

The questions of the payment of rent and of the development of a town plan remain key points of crisis between the structures of local government and the residents of KwaThandeka.

The form and content of the struggles against local government in KwaThandeka are determined by the dynamics of the national political and economic struggle between the state and the majority of South Africans. Resolution of local grievances is contingent upon the resolution of these national questions.

#### Role of the Planner

Planning under apartheid is a dilemma which will continue to exist at least until a non-racial, democratic government is elected by the majority of South Africans. It is an issue which will to some extent influence the nature of "work within the whale" and "work outside the whale".

A number of roles for the planner were suggested in

chapter two. Participation in the project for the community of KwaThandeka has enabled a firmer conclusion on these roles to be reached.

The scope of advocacy planning in South Africa has been exposed and it is this form of planning which could contribute substantially to the 'empowerment' of communities around South Africa. The importance of this task cannot be overstated especially in the context of a post-apartheid South Africa. If communities have control over their own lives and have alternative structures to fill the gaps what could be left during transition, the task will be much easier.

Advocacy planners should also work towards the principles outlined in the Freedom Charter. Advocacy planners could begin this process by becoming involved in progressive community organisations or in service organisations allied to progressive community organisations. The vision of a democratic society involves the planner to a greater extent in the formulation of alternatives to apartheid structures in every aspect of society.

## CHAPTER SIX

### CONCLUSION

The purpose of the study has been to expose the realities of planning in a more practical light and to broaden an understanding of the nature and scope of the problems facing planners in South Africa. To fulfill this purpose, this discourse examined the role of the planner with respect to struggles for land and struggles against local government. The case study of KwaThandeka was undertaken in order to test the theoretical and empirical conclusions of the preceding chapters.

The role of the planner has been perceived to be to "work inside the whale" and "work outside the whale". Any work must not be done in isolation but in consultation with community organisations if it is to avoid the pitfalls of most state planning. The experience of the community of KwaThandeka supports the hypothesis that the scope for "work outside the whale" is extensive and urgently needed. The potential for advocacy planning is vast and the resources needed appear to be available.

Struggles for land have revolved around the dispossession of land for millions of South Africans. The land question



should not be seen on its own because it is part of a broader struggle for a national democracy and universal adult suffrage. Access to land is both an institutional and a political issue whose solution is dependent on political power.

The impact of the 1988 Slums Bill, the 1988 Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Bill, the 1988 Group Areas Amendment Bill, the 1988 Free Settlement Bill and the 1988 Local Government affairs in Free Settlement Areas Bill on both rural and urban areas has yet to be seen. It is expected that it will deepen the land crisis in South Africa even further. The potential for people to move from one piece of land to another will exacerbate the shortage of land.

Struggles against local government will continue until a national solution to the socio-economic and political crisis is found. The 1988 municipal elections will not serve to legitimise local government or gain the support of the majority of South Africans. A local solution has incorrectly been proposed as the solution. The crisis of local government will continue until it has the participation of the residents of an area and is accountable to the community it serves.

The planner can use certain strategies to work towards the abolition of apartheid. This should be done in consultation with the the community concerned and its aims and its objectives. Planners must be seen to be part of changing the nature and form of the present political and economic dispensation.

In the context of struggles for land and struggles against local government, the role of the planner should be to encourage the 'empowerment' of communities through the provision of technical information to communities who do not have access to these skills; encouragement of democratic practice in working relations and to be sensitive to cultural and other traditions. The planner should not dominate a community. S/he must respect the decisions they take and remove her/himself at the earliest possible stage of the project so the community organisation does not become dependent on the planner.

In South Africa the planner cannot ignore the socio-economic and political conflicts which are inherent in the society. As planning is political, the planner cannot avoid politics and therefore in the context of the struggle for land and the struggle against local government bias is unavoidable.

The planners contribution to the issues examined in this work cannot be underestimated. The nature of this contribution and the process through which it takes place are as important as the end result because they ultimately have an influence on this result.

The 'democratic organs of peoples power' which have emerged and then been repressed have given some hope to the practical nature of the principles which the Freedom Charter proposes. These guidelines must be considered if solutions to the present crisis are to be found.

We should look forward to a society where all South Africans irrespective of race, sex, colour or creed can participate in building a non-racial democratic country where 'the land shall be shared among all who work it' and 'the people shall govern'.

## APPENDIX A.1

### THE FREEDOM CHARTER

as adopted at the Congress of the People on 26 June 1955

#### PREAMBLE We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know

That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people.

That our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality.

That our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities.

That only a democratic state, based on the will of the people can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief.

And therefore, we the people of South Africa, black and white, together equals, countrymen and brothers adopt this FREEDOM CHARTER. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing nothing of our strength and courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

#### THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws.

All the people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country.

The rights of the people shall be the same regardless of race, colour or sex.

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

#### ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races.

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride.

All people shall have equal rights to use their own language and to develop their own folk culture and customs.

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime.

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

#### THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people.

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole.

All other industries and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people.

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

#### THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!

Restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land re-divided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger.

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers.

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land.

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose.

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

#### ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without fair trial.

No one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official.

The courts shall be representative of all the people.

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance.

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people.

All laws which discriminate on the grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

#### ALL SHALL ENJOY HUMAN RIGHTS!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children.

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law.

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad.

Pass laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

#### THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers.

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits.

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work.

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers.

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work.

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

#### THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life.

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands.

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace.

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children.

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit.

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan.

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens.

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

#### THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security.

Unused housing space to be made available to the people.

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry.

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state.

Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children.

Slums shall be demolished and new suburbs built where all shall have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres.

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state.

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all.

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

#### THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations.

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation not war.

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all.

The people of the protectorates Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland shall be free to decide for themselves their own future.

The right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:  
THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT  
OUR LIVES UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY.



## APPENDIX A.2

### CONSTITUTIONAL GUIDELINES FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

#### THE STATE

- (A) South Africa shall be an independent, unitary, democratic and non-racial state.
- (B) Sovereignty shall belong to the people as a whole and shall be exercised through one central legislature, executive, judiciary and administration. Provision shall be made for the delegation of the powers of the central authority to subordinate administrative units for purposes of more efficient administration and democratic participation.
- (C) The institution of hereditary rulers and chiefs shall be transformed to serve the interests of the people as a whole in conformity with the democratic principles embodied in the constitution.
- (D) All organs of government, including justice, security and armed forces, shall be representative of the people as a whole, democratic in their structure and functioning, and dedicated to defending the principles of the constitution.

#### FRANCHISE

- (E) In the exercise of their sovereignty, the people shall have the right to vote under a system of universal suffrage based on the principle of one person/one vote.
- (F) Every voter shall have the right to stand for election and to be elected to all legislative bodies.

#### NATIONAL IDENTITY

- (G) It shall be state policy to promote the growth of a single national identity and loyalty binding on all South Africans. At the same time, the state shall recognise the linguistic and cultural diversity of the people and provide facilities for free linguistic and cultural development.

#### BILL OF RIGHTS AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

- (H) The Constitution shall include a Bill of Rights based on the Freedom Charter. Such a Bill of Rights shall guarantee the fundamental human rights of all citizens, irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed, and shall provide appropriate mechanisms for their protection and enforcement.
- (I) The state and all social institutions shall be under constitutional duty to eradicate race discrimination in all its forms.
- (J) The state and all social institutions shall be under a constitutional duty to take active steps to eradicate, speedily, the economic and social inequalities produced by racial discrimination.
- (K) The advocacy or practice of racism, fascism, nazism or the incitement of ethnic or regional exclusiveness or hatred shall be outlawed.
- (L) Subject to clauses (I) and (K) above, the democratic state shall guarantee the basic rights and freedoms, such as freedom of association, thought, worship and the press.

Furthermore, the state shall have the duty to protect the right to work and guarantee the right to education and social security.

(M) All parties which conform to the provision of (I) to (K) above shall have the legal right to exist and to take part in the political life of the country.

#### ECONOMY

- (N) The state shall ensure that the entire economy serves the interests and well-being of the entire population.
- (O) The state shall have the right to determine the general context in which economic life takes place and define and limit the rights and obligations attaching to the ownership and use of productive capacity.
- (P) The private sector of the economy shall be obliged to cooperate with the state in realising the objectives of the Freedom Charter in promoting social well-being.
- (Q) The economy shall be a mixed one, with a public sector, a private sector, a co-operative sector and a small-scale family sector.
- (R) Co-operative forms of economic enterprise, village industries and small scale family activities shall be supported by the state.
- (S) The state shall promote the acquisition of management, technical and scientific skills among all sections of the population, especially the blacks.
- (T) Property for personal use and consumption shall be constitutionally protected.

#### LAND

- (U) The state shall devise and implement a land reform programme that will include and address the following issues:
- Abolition of all racial restrictions on ownership and use of land
  - Implementation of land reform in conformity with the principle of affirmative action, taking into account the status of victims of forced removals.

#### WORKERS

- (V) A charter protecting workers' trade union rights, especially the right to strike and collective bargaining, shall be incorporated into the constitution.

#### WOMEN

- (W) Women shall have equal rights in all spheres of public and private life and the state shall take affirmative action to eliminate inequalities and discrimination between the sexes.

#### THE FAMILY

- (X) The family, parenthood and children's rights shall be protected.

#### INTERNATIONAL

- (Y) South Africa shall be a non-aligned state committed to the principles of the Charter of the OAU and the Charter of the UN and to the achievement of national liberation, world peace and disarmament.



## APPENDIX B

### THE NATIONAL SECURITY MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

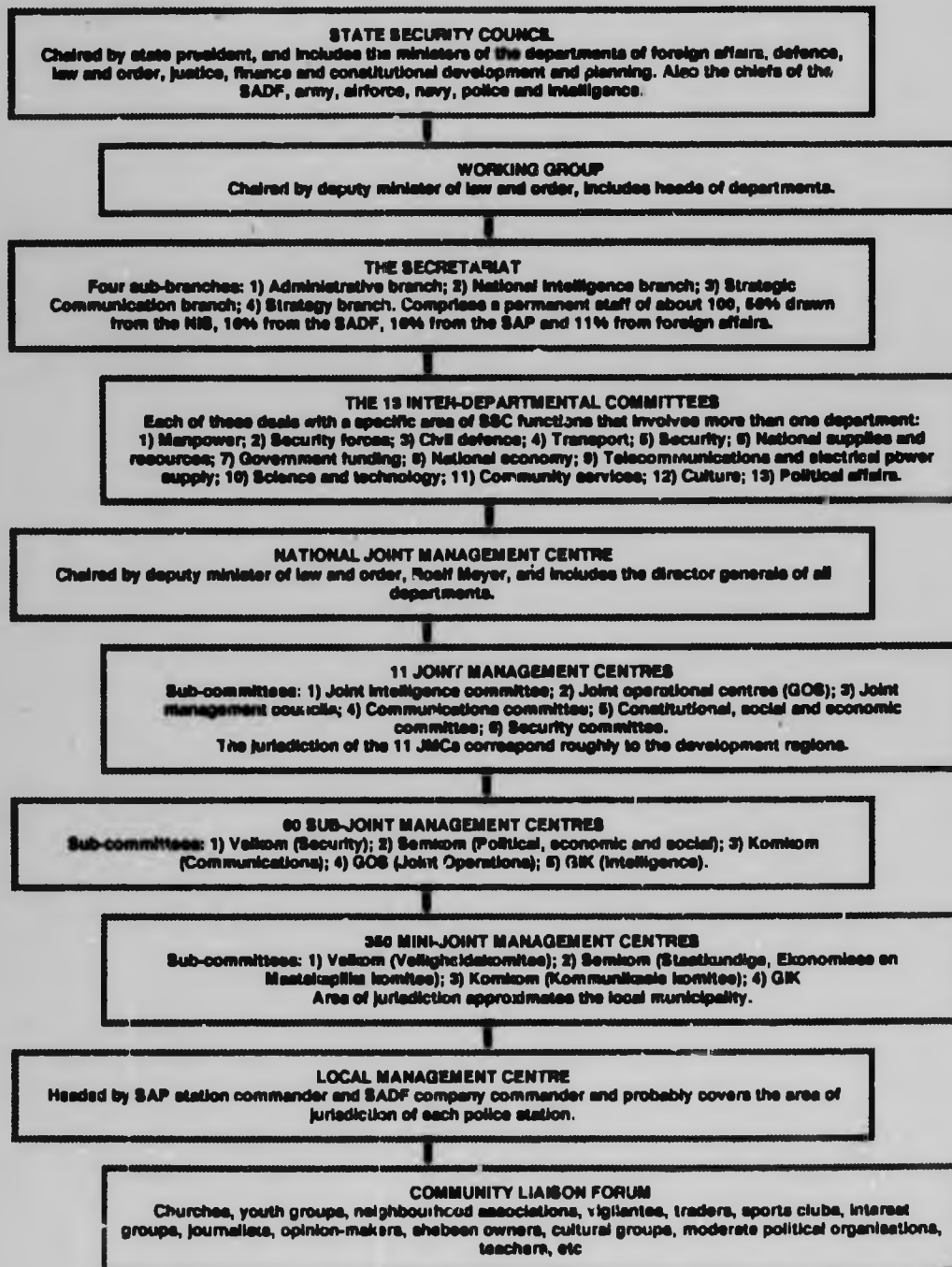


Diagram from Mark Swilling and Mark Phillips, 'Reform, security and white power: re-thinking state strategies in the 1980s', delivered at the 19th annual conference of the Association of Sociologists of South Africa, University of Durban Westville, July 1988.

## APPENDIX P.1

### IZIMBUZO YOMHLANGANO

#### IMALI ECHITHEKILE

1. Bhala uhla lwezinto enzizithengayo lana ekhaya kusukela phezulu nokubiza kwazo

#### IMIBUZO NGEMIKHANDLU YASE AMSTERDAM

##### AMANZI

1. Niwakha kuphi lana ekhaya?
2. Amanzi niwathola njalo kulendawo?
3. Nenze njani uma ningawatholi amanzi kulendawo?
4. Ubani okha amanzi?
5. Niwakha ngani amanzi?
6. Niwakha kangaki amanzi ngosuku?
7. Nenzani ngamanzi?
8. Iyanjabulisa lindlela enithola ngayo amanzi?
9. Uma inganjabulisi lindlela enikha ngayo amanzi, kungenzwa njani ukuze ibe ngcono?

##### EZENKUCUZA

1. Nisebenzisa indlela yama bhakede?
2. Uma ningasebenzisi amabhakede, nisebenzisanisi?
3. Iyanjabulisa lindlela yamabhakede?
4. Uma inganjabulisi, kungani?
5. Ubona kungcono yiphi indlela?

##### AMANZI ESICHOHO NEMIGWAGO

1. Amanzi ayangena endlini yakho?
2. Uma amanzi engena endlini yakho angena kangakani?
3. Amosha indlu yakho na?
4. Kuye kwenzeke amanzi akuvimbe ukuthi uphume endlini?
5. Kuletha izinkanda na lokhu?
6. Injani imigwago lana?
7. Kwenzelani emigwagweni ma lindlele?

##### IMIBUZO NGEMPILU YOMPHAKATHI

1. Impilo enjani ephilwa umphakathi walana, njengokuthi nje impilo yokuhlangana nisizane (nimbemunye) kanjalo kanjalo?

APPENDIX D.2

QUESTIONS FOR PUBLIC MEETING

EXPENDITURE

1. List the things most money is spent on during the month

QUESTIONS ABOUT SERVICES

WATER

1. Where do you collect water from?
2. Can you always get water from this place?
3. What do you do if you cannot get water from this place?
4. Who collects the water?
5. What is the water collected in?
6. How many times a day is the water collected?
7. What is the water used for?
8. Are you happy with this way of getting water?
9. If not, what would make it better?

SANITATION

1. Do you use the bucket system?
2. If not, what do you use?
3. Are you happy with the bucket system?
4. If not, why not?
5. What would you prefer instead?

STORM WATER AND ROADS

1. Does the rain ever come into your house?
2. If so, how often?
3. Does this damage your house?
4. Does the rain ever prevent you from leaving your house?
5. Does this cause you any problems?
6. What are the roads like here?
7. What happens to the roads when it rains?

QUESTIONS ABOUT COMMUNITY LIFE

1. What sort of community life is there? e.g. mutual help etc.

# APPENDIX E.1

## IWA-THANDEKA, AMSTERDAM - SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Iqama lombozi \_\_\_\_\_ Ilanga \_\_\_\_\_  
 Stand No \_\_\_\_\_ House No 1/2/3/4  
 Inani lezindlu esizeni ngasinye \_\_\_\_\_

| Person No:   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Obani amagama abantu abahlala kulendlu   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Abantu abahlala kulendlu bangabantu besilisa, sifazane abafana noma amantombazane          |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Bazakwe ngamiphi isinyaka  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| <u>Ezosebenzi</u>  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Basebenza ngokugcwele esebenzini vabo  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Babamba amatho na  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Abasebenzi   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Abakwazi ukuthi bangasebenza. Isizathu esibangela lokho                                    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Basebenza kuphi nendawo  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Basebenza nhlobo yini yasebenzi  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Basebenza kude nasekhaya   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Reza kangaki ekhaya  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| <u>Izeshini</u>  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Bathola izeshini ka hulumeni Yiphi inhlobo njengo kuthi kunesesheni yokuzibeka neyokugqoka |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Bathola izeshini yase esebenzini na  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |

Abantwana

|   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Baunda ibanga lesinyakhi esitoleni            |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Bafunda kuphi nendawo                         |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Uetwana uma engafundi. Yini isizathu esikhulu |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Isali engenayo ehaya                          |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Malini engenayo ehaya ngenyanga               |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |

IMIBUZO FAWONKEWONKE

1. Wazalewa e Amsterdam? .....
2. Uma kungabe awuzalelwanga lana usuhlale khona isikhathi esingakanani? .....
3. Ubuhlale kuphi ngaphambili? .....
4. Kungani usuke lapho kade ubhale khona weza kapha e Amsterdam? .....
5. Bangaki abantwana asebezolwe lana ekhaya kulezinyanga eziyishumi nambili ezindlule kusukela ngo May wonyaka odlulile? .....
6. Bangaki abantu bakulendle asebezolwe kulezinyanga eziyishumi nambili ezindlule kusukela ngo May wonyaka odlulile? .....
7. Bapeneminyaka emingaki? .....



## APPENDIX E.2

## KWATHANDEKA, AMSTERDAM - SURVEY QUESTIONS

Name of questioner \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Stand No \_\_\_\_\_  
No. of houses on each stand \_\_\_\_\_ House No 1/2/3/4

| Person No.  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| What are the names of the people in this house?   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Are they men, women, boys or girls?               |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| In what year were they born?                      |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| <u>Jobs</u>                                       |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Have they a full time job?                        |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Have they a part time job?                        |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Are they unemployed?                              |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Are they unable to work?                          |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Reason  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Where do they work?                               |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| What kind of work do they do?                     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Do they work a long way from home?                |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| How often do they come home?                      |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| <u>Pension</u>                                    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Are they getting a government pension, what kind? |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Are they getting a company pension?               |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |

| Children                                  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| What standard are they in at school       |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Where do they go to school                |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| If a child is not going to school, Reason |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Income                                    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| What income do they earn per month        |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |

#### GENERAL QUESTIONS

1. Were you born in Amsterdam? \_\_\_\_\_
2. If not, how long have you lived in Amsterdam? \_\_\_\_\_
3. Where did you live before? \_\_\_\_\_
4. Why did you move to Amsterdam? \_\_\_\_\_
5. How many babies were born to this house in the last twelve months since May 1987? \_\_\_\_\_
6. How many people from this house have died in the last twelve months since May 1987? \_\_\_\_\_
7. How old were they? \_\_\_\_\_

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